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BEYOND SAN FRANCISCO

THE LEFT, THE DEMOCRATS & THE FUTURE

ANDREW KOPKIND AND ALEXANDER COCKBURN

With hardly a backward—or forward—look, the bulk of the surviving American left has blithely joined the Democratic Party center, without the will to inflect debate, the influence to inform policy or the leverage to share power. The capitulation of the left—a necessarily catchall word, here covering the spectrum of progressive politics from old socialism to recent radical activism—is almost without precedent. This time out there is no McCarthy of 1968, no McGovern of 1972, no Kennedy of 1980; not even a John Anderson or a Barry Commoner to raise a standard of dissent or develop an alternative vision against a Democratic Party whose project is overwhelmingly conservative in attitude and action. The excuse for submission is easy to discern: Anybody But Reagan. But the consequences are likely to be dire, and they are already taking shape. By accepting the premises and practices of party unity, the left has negated the reasons for its own existence.

In the beginning, of course, there was a certain Somebody within the Democratic fold who was a candidate not only of principle but of opportunity for the left. Jesse Jackson, and the Rainbow Coalition he proposed, represented the historical base, the organized movement and the radical program for which the left has been hunting the last thirty-five years. But . . . no. Jackson is usually taunted for failing to broaden his coalition, but when he made personal pitches to each likely constituency, the invitees almost invariably declined. Jackson gave an impassioned call for the solidarity of racial and sex-

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THE MILITARY-POLITICAL COMPLEX
Christopher Hitchens

ISRAEL'S SOUL
Milton Viorst

SOCIALISTS AND DEMOCRATS
Sidney Lens

. . . AND LADIES OF THE G.O.P.
Michael Malone

PEOPLE'S PLATFORMS
Norman Birnbaum

BEATING REAGAN

THE POLITICS OF VOTER REGISTRATION

JOEL ROGERS

Even now that the national ticket is settled, the Democrats have a lot of decisions to make this week in San Francisco. What to do about Jesse Jackson. What to do about the party's rules and platform. What to do about the current leadership of the Democratic National Committee (D.N.C.). Overwhelming all those matters, however, will be one big, obvious, obviously important but as yet unanswered question: Given the collapse of its New Deal coalition and the huge Republican successes of the past few years, in what direction will the party decide to move in the near term, and how will that decision contribute to beating Ronald Reagan in the fall?

Insofar as the question calls for a new electoral strategy, the most widely touted rejoinder has been provided by Gary Hart and other neoliberals. Roughly speaking, they suggest that the Democrats broaden their appeal to affluent voters and sharply narrow their traditional (albeit only feebly kept) commitments to working people and the poor. Such poor voters, the argument goes, are so disorganized that they cannot block such a move and, in any case, have nowhere else to turn. On the other hand, at least some of the more affluent—who are overrepresented in the active electorate and whose number increases daily in America's "hourglass" economy—are attracted by neoliberal commitments to free trade, deregulation, entrepreneur-led economic growth, strategic arms control, "rationalized" conventional military capabilities, civil liberties, the environment and other such "middle-class" concerns. Assuming that the general shape of the electoral universe is fixed,

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LETTERS.

KOCH, ABZUG AND THE ISRAELI JETS

New York City

I read Doug Ireland's review of my book, "Better Read Than Ed," which appeared in the May 26 edition of *The Nation*.

Ireland singles out one matter, the accuracy of which he disputes. It involves a meeting I had with Bella Abzug, at which he was present, when I was running for Congress in 1968. He disputes not only the comments that I report in my book reflecting her position, which at that time was in opposition to jets for Israel, but he goes on to seek to establish that "Abzug can point to her consistently pro-Israel voting record," and implies that this has always been her position. The facts are otherwise and can be established by someone who has been a supporter of Bella Abzug's and an opponent of mine. (See the letter by Jack Newfield, September 28, 1972, in *The Village Voice*.)

In view of Doug Ireland's direct involvement in Bella Abzug's campaigns as her campaign manager, it's not surprising that he would support her position. Fortunately, as it relates to Bella, the record is clear. She opposed jets for Israel before she was elected. She then found that it would be a difficult position to maintain if she expected to continue in office in that particular Congressional district and so she changed, at least as it relates to her votes. Everyone is entitled to change his or her position, but not to deny what the earlier position had been.

Why should her position in 1968 have been any different than it was in 1970? Let me tell you what she said in 1970. The following quote, attributed to Bella Abzug, was included in the literature supporting Howard Squadron in his Congressional primary race: "I would find it difficult to vote for planes to Israel." (March 26, 1970, at the Village Independent Democrats candidates' forum.)

Parenthetically, what I found most revealing in both Bella Abzug's letter to *The New York Times* seeking to refute the passage in my book and Doug Ireland's review was that neither one refers to, much less disputes, the equally important reference on the same page of the book to her second question to me at the same meeting: "Would I support our terminating the NATO alliance? I said, Well, when they terminate the Warsaw alliance, then we'll terminate the NATO alliance, but not before. I happen to think the Soviet Union is a threat." *Edward I. Koch*
Mayor of New York

IRELAND REPLIES

New York City

Ed Koch does not seem to read with any more accuracy than he writes. I specifically included his charges that Bella and I were pro-Soviet, and I quoted him to that effect, including some of the very language cited in his letter. The reason I did not take up the NATO allegation in detail was simply lack of space in a review devoted to two books. But, in fact, on the testimony of Koch's friend Robert Egan, who accompanied him to that meeting, the question Koch says he was asked didn't come up any more than the issue of jets for Israel. (I have published this point elsewhere—as the Mayor, an inveterate reader of anything about himself, must know—so I also find his comment disingenuous.)

I notice that Koch is again confused about the date of the meeting (1967, Ed, not 1968) and that he is unable to cite any evidence from either year that suggests Bella had the views he ascribes to her. The important point here is that the Mayor *invented* in his memoir an entire conversation which, on the basis of the testimony of the man who accompanied him to the meeting and not just on my own and Bella's recollections, simply *did not happen*. It is no good to quote campaign literature from one of Bella's competitors in a race for Congress three years later. (Although even here I would suggest that to say one might have "difficulty" voting for jets for Israel is not to say one would vote against them—and she didn't.) Frankly, if I were in Congress I wouldn't vote one penny for military aid to Israel or any other country in the Middle East, and I have long disagreed with Bella's policy views on Israel. But that is neither here nor there: the Mayor lied about a conversation with us which, given the Congressional history I cited, couldn't have happened when he said it did, and didn't happen, then or ever. No amount of "she said it three years later somewhere else" invalidates the criticisms I made of the Mayor's hallucinatory dictations. *Doug Ireland*

VOTER REGISTRATION IN OREGON

Salem, Oreg.

I must take exception to a statement in the April 21 issue of *The Nation*. In his article on Human Serve's effort to register the poor, Blair Clark alleges that Oregon creates barriers to voter registration by limiting distribution of its postcard registration forms. The cards, he says, "are handed out as if they were $100 bills by a niggardly Secretary of State." As a result of this limited access to registration forms, he continues, "a quarter of the people in Portland are unregistered." Is that a quarter of the total population or a quarter of those eligible to register? Assuming that Clark meant the latter, that computes to about 57,500 unregistered but eligible individuals.

Since January my office has issued 126,000 registration forms to the Multnomah County Elections Department for distribution throughout Portland and surrounding areas. Between March 23 and April 30, we issued 5,000 forms directly to Portland Human Serve representatives. The 131,000 forms available to the citizens of Portland and Multnomah County are more than enough to accommodate the unregistered portion of the population.

Granted, we are selective about the method of distribution. For example, we do not encourage enclosure of the forms in mass mailings. With 80 percent of our eligible population already registered, such shotgun distributions would be terribly wasteful. The forms do cost money.

We also prefer to fill more requests for smaller amounts. In the past we have released large numbers of registration forms to various groups only to discover that the bulk of them sit unused in someone's office. We would rather have them in the pipeline and reaching the people who need them.

Finally, we shall have issued over 1.5 million registration cards in the biennium between August 1983 and August 1985. This is hardly a "niggardly" amount, considering that only 346,000 of Oregon's eligible population are unregistered. Of course, Clark would not know all these things, as he did not feel it necessary to contact this office to confirm the accuracy of his statement.

Norma Paulus
Secretary of State

CLARK REPLIES

New York City

Oregon is one of the better states about voter registration, but the process is still too involved, and county clerks tell our sources that registration cards are hard to come by in adequate quantities. We don't doubt the will of Secretary of State Paulus, but the way is not yet perfect. *Blair Clark*

THE RUSSIANS AND THE MIDEAST

San Francisco

In his June 16 "Sovieticus" column, Stephen F. Cohen proposes that the Soviet Union "persuade its Syrian and P.L.O. allies to recognize formally Israel's right to a secure existence," as the quid pro quo for asking the Russians to return to regional Mideast peace talks. The Syrians and the P.L.O. have already made several such offers, conditioned on Israel's recognition of Palestinian rights to secure existence and self-determination, as is made abundantly clear by Noam Chomsky in *The Fateful Triangle*. Is there any reason why the next U.S. President should not apply similar persuasion to obtain Israeli recognition of the rights of *all* Middle Easterners? *Roger Borgen*

The Nation welcomes letters—typed, double spaced and no longer than 300 words, please. Letters may be edited for reasons of space.

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EDITORIALS.

Conventional Media

Not since Henry Wallace's Progressive Party campaign in 1948 has Presidential politics been conducted in such an ideologically charged atmosphere as has developed this year. Then, as now, cold war fever was spreading and the space for nonconformity was closing in American society. An active, energetic political constituency boldly challenged mainstream Democratic policy and practice. The media mobilized in force to isolate the insurgent group, condemn its principles and virtually outlaw its leader from consideration as a legitimate political actor.

Of course, the analogy between the Henry Wallace and Jesse Jackson phenomena is not perfect. In 1948, the insurgent movement formed into a third party that began its campaign after the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia. A "fourth party," the segregationist Dixiecrats, arose during that convention and further fragmented the party consensus that customarily characterizes the Presidential campaign. The white left of 1948 was vastly different from the black movement of 1984, and nothing today duplicates the problematic role of the Communist Party—which had its own radical project and agenda—within the Progressive campaign.

But the similarities are at least as significant as the differences; in particular, the behavior of the media in the political polarization process resounds with echoes of the past. Hardly a day goes by that press and tube are not full of ideological attacks on Jackson and his movement. The topic may be something Jackson or one of his associates said and shouldn't have, or some campaign turn he made; but the invective, frequently couched in anti-anti-Semitic terms, is often aimed at the meaning of his campaign, its challenge to the premises underlying the "major" candidates' positions

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on economic, racial and national security matters.

You don't have to be a Jackson supporter, a black or even a fellow traveler on the Rainbow bus to feel the heat. As it did in 1948, the ideological fire goes wide of its immediate targets and hits those who aren't straight in line with narrowing standards of political acceptability. The result is a rapid rightward shift, as those who are unattached to principle or unrooted in historical necessity run for cover.

Reporters and newscasters who cover the Democratic convention and the campaign that follows will be working within the polarized milieu and may barely notice it. They will ask questions, make judgments and play stories according to the prevailing biases and assumptions. Blacks will be searched for any trace of anti-Semitism before they are allowed to enter political discourse. Liberals will be probed for softness on the Soviet threat. Women will be tested for shrillness or stridency, Geraldine Ferraro will be vetted for manly virtues and old-line Democrats will be examined for their affinity to "special interests"—a category that never existed before Gary Hart heard Ronald Reagan talking about it last winter. Thus are legitimate questions transformed into accusation-by-interrogation.

This momentous electoral year, now just past its midpoint, is also the most misreported in recent memory. As Andrew Kopkind and Alexander Cockburn point out in their article which begins on the cover of this issue, President Reagan is no ordinary officeholder seeking re-election but is the leader and symbol of a new social class riding an economic tide still building in the country. Mainstream Democrats can't decide whether to swim with it or run away. Jesse Jackson and a few other dissidents stand against it.

None of that may be visible in the Moscone Center, at least as the action is transmitted to the world. The media has been dazzled by the rise of Reaganism, caught up in its ideology and now can hardly help but advance the political polarization process of which it is a part. It will take persistence and discernment to glean a sense of history from the tangle of weighted words we will hear from San Francisco.

Two Friends

The Nation lost two good friends in the last few weeks, Seniel Ostrow and Lillian Hellman.

We don't know whether they ever met, and on the surface the two couldn't have been more different. Seniel was a manufacturer, a capitalist; Lillian was a playwright, an artist. Seniel was a family man, surrounded by the generations; Lillian was a loner. His style was tender; hers was tough. He lived in Beverly Hills; she preferred her retreat on Martha's Vineyard.

But both were tested during the McCarthy era, when Seniel refused to withdraw his firm's sponsorship of liberal radio commentators, and Lillian refused, in her famously eloquent phrase, to "cut my conscience to fit this year's fashions." Both knew how to behave on principle. They carried on the fight against injustice: Seniel, through his support of such enterprises as the original Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, the American Civil Liberties Union, The Nation Institute and, most recently, the Voter Registration Program in California; Lillian, through the Committee for Public Justice, which she helped found with the late Hannah Weinstein, and through her memoirs and other writings. They resisted and in very different ways prevailed. By their example, along with that of a select number of their generation, they have made it much more difficult for cold war history to repeat itself.

Authority Rules

The other shoe has dropped. The Nixon-Reagan appointees to the Supreme Court have finally begun to dominate, and the Bill of Rights faces a much more uncertain future than it did only a year ago.

The decisions allowing the use in court of illegally obtained evidence have received the most attention, but they are not the most telling indicators of the Court's dangerous direction. Since 1972 there has been a solid majority against the exclusionary rule, which forbids the use in court of illegally obtained evidence. And as far back as 1965, even the Warren Court reached to sustain warrant-sanctioned searches (this term's decisions involved police actions under a warrant). The Court's drift is certainly disturbing, and how much further it will go is unclear.

More revealing are those cases where the result was not so predictable and the reasoning strained or extreme. In *Regan v. Wald*, the Court ignored a clear Congressional directive and allowed President Reagan to limit travel to Cuba, drawing a dissent even from the relatively conservative Justice Lewis Powell. In *Block v. Rutherford*, the Court denied pretrial detainees—people who are not convicted and are in jail only because they cannot afford bail—the right to touch their children or spouses, even when there is no security risk; the Court also announced that prisoners have no right to privacy at all.

Those cases make it clear that where claims of national security or prison needs are made, this Court will grant the authorities just about anything they want. In both contexts, the Court has traditionally deferred to the authorities, but never quite so emphatically or sweepingly, and with so little justification.

In a startling reversal of position in another area, the Court went out of its way, in *Firefighters Local Union No. 1784 v. Stotts*, to cast doubt on the legality of court-ordered affirmative action for minority or female hiring, even though the case involved only layoffs. The Court implicitly disapproved Federal court and Congressional efforts over the last fifteen years to overcome the effects of centuries of discrimination.

Nor was this all. The Court reversed lower court rulings on environmental matters, immigration cases, Federal court powers over state institutions, access to the courts, antidiscrimination obligations of federally funded institutions, state involvement in religion and more. In each case, the Court upheld governmental authority, sending a clear

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message to lower courts: Don't rule against it.

In a July 1971 interview, Chief Justice Warren Burger cautioned against trying to achieve social justice through the courts. This year, he and Justices William Rehnquist and Sandra Day O'Connor may finally have put together a majority to enact that caution. What the late Edmond Cahn called "the imperial perspective" seems to have triumphed.

Israeli Elections

Jerusalem

The outside world is disposed to look at the Israeli parliamentary elections to be held on July 23 as a referendum on the Middle East peace process, but in the campaign itself, the word "peace" is rarely pronounced.

"They're either in our camp or in their camp," a prominent Likud politician said to me the other day. "The arguments don't matter very much. Our task in this campaign is to raise the emotional level, to remind the people when they go to vote that their loyalties belong to us."

So far, Likud has failed to raise the emotional level of the campaign, and its supporters grow increasingly apprehensive as the polls, which show a wide margin of victory for the Labor Party, hold steady. Still, Israelis vividly recall the elections of 1981, when Likud, far behind in the polls two months before the voting, went on to victory through a flawlessly conceived and executed campaign. No one quite dismisses the possibility that Likud will pull a rabbit out of the hat again—but where will it find the rabbit?

§ Menachem Begin, always a brilliant orator, stumped in 1981 with an unparalleled stridency which had crowds screaming "Begin, Begin" and "Begin, King of Israel." Labor tried to match his frenzy, only to see its lead erode. In 1984, Likud has no Begin. His successor as Prime Minister, Yitzhak Shamir, lacks Begin's color; and Begin's words sound flat when his heir as party demagogue, Ariel Sharon, pronounces them. Besides, Labor has learned a lesson from 1981 and is doing all it can to keep the campaign a bore.

§ On the eve of the elections, Likud announced a sudden liberalization of import policies, flooding the country with cars, color televisions and other consumer items at bargain prices. Everyone saw through the tactic, but it succeeded; it also helped bring on the disastrous state of the Israeli economy. This year the voters are wary, and Likud seems to have run out of economic tricks.

§ In 1981, Likud roused the voters just before the elections by bombing a nuclear reactor in Baghdad. This year Israelis appear to have had their fill of military triumphs that leave them feeling more insecure than before. Israeli soldiers are still mired in Lebanon, and Likud seems ill disposed to risk another military misadventure.

Still, Likud campaigners insist that the Lebanese war made Israel a safer place; Labor says little. Part of the reason for their reticence is an unspoken bargain: if Labor does not allude to the 600 Israeli soldiers lost in Lebanon, Likud will remain silent on the 3,000 deaths in the Yom Kippur War of 1973, when Labor was in charge. More important, Labor seems persuaded that the war in Lebanon speaks for itself and that no reminders are necessary.

So Labor talks about the workings of the economy, an issue which cuts across the society. Thanks largely to American generosity—private and governmental—Israel stays afloat and even conveys an illusion of prosperity. But inflation is in the range of 400 percent a year, and the government, having dropped a fortune last fall to contain a collapse of bank stocks, risks exhausting its reserves. A feeling pervades Israel that the country's resources are practically spent. Israelis seem resigned to austere days ahead, whoever wins.

Despite the tedious talk of gross national product and exports, no one seems to doubt that the campaign is also being waged for Israel's soul. The outcome will shape not only the policies of the coming decade but very likely the definition of the Jewish state. It will go far toward determining what will emerge from the religious-secular struggle, the polarity between Westernized and Orientalized culture and conflicting concepts of relations with the Arab world.

Peace with the Arabs is indeed on the campaign agenda, but it cuts so close to the marrow of Israeli society that Labor has run from the debate. No issue more clearly separates the two camps, but the peace forces in Israel are fearful that, in power, the Labor Party might be as cautious as it has been in the campaign. They are mobilized as they have never been before, convinced that time is running out. If Labor wins, then the real struggle will begin.

MILTON VIORST

Milton Viorst led The Nation *Fact-Finders Tour which visited Israel during the last two weeks of June.*

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BEAT THE DEVIL.

Special Treatment

Poor Jesse Jackson. He tried to build a rainbow and they went and stood Geraldine Ferraro under it and told him to get lost. Between a black man who kisses Arafat and then goes to Cuba and an Italian-American woman who's for choice, the E.R.A. and tuition tax credits, who would you choose? Just remember that (to name but two) the C.P.U.S.A. ran Charlene Mitchel as its Presidential candidate in 1972, and the S.W.P. ran Grace Carlson as its V.P. in 1948.

Meanwhile, not since K.A.L. 007 has there been a media mobilization like the one against Jackson. If Louis Farrakhan was condemned to be burned alive at the stake and Jackson was the volunteer who stepped smartly forward to set him alight, reporters would hasten to note that Jackson had not made the specific gesture of first cutting out the condemned man's tongue. Hatred of Jackson has reached critical mass in the media.

When Jackson denounced Farrakhan's attack on Judaism, *New York Times* reporter Fay Joyce took care to remark that Jackson had not "directly" addressed himself to Farrakhan's characterization of that religion as "dirty" or from "the gutter" or whatever Farrakhan actually said. Thus Joyce gave the impression that Jackson's denunciation was somehow qualified. Her misrepresentation was repeated by *Times* reporter E.R. Shipp the following day, as well as by a *CBS Evening News* reporter the following night. Jackson did address himself directly to Farrakhan's remarks and was probably glad to, since Farrakhan had transgressed in an area in which Jackson was happy to hit back.

Watching George Will and Sam Donaldson interrogating Jackson on David Brinkley's show the Sunday after his return from Cuba, I was—even this late in the campaign—amazed at their bullying arrogance and unconcealed dislike. With white politicians Donaldson is a master at deploying a "bad boy" cocksure braggadocio that is fundamentally deferential. But with Jackson his face had the hardness and his voice the sneer of a jackboot inquisitor.

"We Treated Him Nice"

The final joke is the way reporters and columnists—from James Reston sideways—insist that they have been decent enough to hold Jackson to standards less rigorous than those that normally apply. Now, I don't recall Walter Mondale being grilled when he reported a 1983 income in excess of $300,000, even though it would be an easy business for any columnist or reporter to loose off some ironies at the expense of this supposed spokesman for the poor and needy raking in all those fat attorney's fees. But when Jackson reported an income somewhere just over $100,000, a CBS correspondent (who probably earns the same, if not more) accosted him and announced that he had little in common with the poor whose spokesman he professes to be.

On Jackson's return from Cuba *The New York Times* ran a story about him below one about Roberto d'Aubuisson, linking the items with a headline referring to both men as "wild cards" in this electoral season. So here we have a man who has devoted his life to civil rights, to the cause of peace and the vindication of the oppressed yoked to a fanatical reactionary who has been described by a former U.S. ambassador as a "psychopathic killer" and demonstrated by well-informed reporters to be the sponsor of assassinations and bestial violence. On July 11, when Jackson got the right-hand lead on *The Times*'s front page, the adjacent photograph was of (mostly black) prisoners awaiting arraignment. White man's unconscious speak with plain tongue. This was the day after a carefully conceived *New York Times*/CBS News poll proclaimed with relief that the blacks were safe and would vote for Mondale, whatever Jackson did. That is almost as silly as *The New Republic*'s assumption that blacks would be happy with anyone, even a former Los Angeles policeman named Bradley. All blacks look alike.

The press, it's true, does distinguish between Jackson and d'Aubuisson. When Jackson gives a press conference the reporters are tigers. When he appeared with Castro before hundreds of reporters in Havana to announce the prisoner deal, the first question addressed to him concerned Louis Farrakhan. But when d'Aubuisson gave a press conference in Washington, those tigers were mild as milk, and the chipper little killer was asked in most deferential tones about his views on El Salvador's economic future.

Double Your Standard

As the media have been portraying things, it's Jackson and not decent Fritz Mondale who has been reluctant or "tardy" in distancing himself from the ravings of politico-religious fanatics. This, at least, is what the righteous Jackson bashers would have us believe. It all depends on whom you care to call a politico-religious fanatic. For my money Mondale has warm relations with just such fanatics and so, far from "distancing" himself, positively basks in their endorsements.

Consider the case of a newspaper that endorsed Mondale right before the New York primary: *The Jewish Press*. Mondale visited its offices, and shortly thereafter the paper printed a photograph of him in the company of *The Jewish Press*'s publisher, Rabbi Sholom Klass, and Brooklyn Borough President Howard Golden, along with an editorial urging readers to vote for Mondale in the primary. Since that endorsement, *The Jewish Press*—as no one who has studied its pages will be surprised to hear—has published editorials and articles expressing toward Palestinians attitudes no more benign than those voiced by Farrakhan toward Jews.

More substantively, the newspaper has stoutly supported the Israelis recently charged with membership in the terror network that maimed two Palestinian mayors, machine-gunned to death students at the Islamic College in Hebron, booby-trapped Palestinian-owned buses with bombs discovered by Israeli authorities shortly before they were timed

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to explode and plotted to demolish the Dome of the Rock, one of Islam's holiest shrines.

An editorial on the arrests declared, "If [the detainees] are guilty of anything they are guilty of doing what the government should have done in the first place," and added, "We must thank those who are willing to risk their lives to make Israel safe for everyone." Rabbi Klass defined support for the accused as a virtual religious duty, and the paper printed large advertisements appealing for funds for their legal defense.

The members of the settler underground are not the only people to have been celebrated amid *The Jewish Press*'s glorification of violence against Arabs. The paper's editorial on the beating to death of two Palestinian bus-hijackers by their Israeli captors ended with the paean, "Honor to you, noble soldier."

The Mondale campaign, had it been interested (which I'm quite sure it wasn't), could have easily surmised the paper's endorsement of racist terror by the fact of its association with Rabbi Meir Kahane. Kahane, who is a leader of the anti-Arab Kach movement, has been featured in the paper as a columnist--offering his views on the desirability of an Arab exodus, engineered by forcible expulsion if necessary; his assessment that the Sabra and Shatila massacres were the work of the "vengeance of the G-d of Israel"; and his proposal for the criminalization of marriage or sexual relations between Jews and Arabs in Israel. Just in case anyone thinks *The Jewish Press* merely prints Kahane as a columnist, I should add that it has also employed him as a correspondent. At one time Kahane, his reserve unit mobilized to suppress Palestinian demonstrations on the West Bank, became the paper's Ramallah correspondent. His dispatch included broad and approving hints that his unit had physically abused Palestinian detainees. Kahane also reported from a Jesse Jackson rally which, he acknowledged in his article, he had attended in order to disrupt.

The Jewish Press is not an obscure hate sheet but a widely circulated one. Its advertising department states a circulation of 200,000--the largest, it claims, of any paper in the Anglo-Jewish world. Before local and national elections the paper is invariably filled with advertisements for major-party candidates. After the 1980 Presidential election its front page boasted of the gratitude of President-elect Ronald Reagan, whom the paper had endorsed and who was quoted as saying that *The Jewish Press* was one of the "most powerful" newspapers among American Jews.

So Farrakhan is execrated, but *The Jewish Press* remains unscathed. Jackson abjures Farrakhan, but no one dreams of challenging Mondale on his acceptance of an endorsement from *The Jewish Press*. And if, as is almost unthinkable, Mondale were in some manner to "dissociate himself formally" from certain positions adopted by the publication, are we seriously to imagine that reporters and editorialists such as Fay Joyce would chide Mondale for failing to address himself directly to discrete items in its ledger of hate? All of which leads to the obvious conclusion that while the official culture will not accept black or white people slurring Jews, it is entirely undisturbed when the victims are Arabs.

Great Gutter Religions of Mankind

One of the many troubles with Louis Farrakhan's recent remarks about Judaism is their monocular prejudice. Freethinkers like me would prefer to stress that all religions (though I have a certain *tendresse* for animism) are a bad business, and the worthiest recipients for abuse are Judaism, Christianity, Hinduism and Islam, the faith Farrakhan no doubt prefers (though most Moslems would reject any connection between his faith and theirs). Indeed it could be soundly, though perhaps not conclusively, argued that Islam, more vigorous in its fanaticism than its older rivals, is now the dirtiest of the lot. On the other hand, those who promote the "Judeo-Christian tradition" as a preferable expression of faith—Jesse Jackson comes to mind here—might remember that the Old Testament literature they regard as sacred declares flatly that genocide has divine sanction. As the great historian G.E.M. de Ste. Croix justly observes, "There is little in pagan literature quite as morally revolting as the stories of the massacres allegedly carried out at Jericho, Ai, and Hazor, and of the Amorites and Amalekites, all not merely countenanced by Yahweh but strictly ordained by him."

If you asked either Mondale or Jackson to dissociate himself from the words and deeds of the Prophet Samuel he would think you mad, but it was this same Samuel who denounced Saul for having disobeyed God's genocidal command to "go and smite Amalek [Palestinians, actually], and utterly destroy all that they have, and spare them not; but slay both man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass." King Saul, as is described in I Samuel 15, contravened the divine command by omitting from the slaughter King Agag and some livestock. God was furious and complained to Samuel, who hastened to rebuke Saul and, by way of making himself clear, "hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord in Gilgal," disregarding the Amalekite monarch's reasoned plea that peacetime conventions regarding the treatment of prisoners surely applied in his case.

Endless Terror

Since we're on the subject of genocide, I should note that a story in *The New York Times* of July 8 suggested U.S. military aid to Guatemala ended in 1977, when the Carter Administration announced a cutoff. Regardless of the formal cutoff, U.S. military aid levels to Guatemala continued undiminished, as Defense Security Assistance Agency figures, quoted in Lars Schöultz's essay in *Trouble in Our Backyard*, make clear: $2,803,000 in 1977, $2,456,000 in 1978, $3,634,000 in 1979, $2,366,000 in 1980. This should be kept in mind in the event that someone announces the cutoff of funds to the Nicaraguan *contras*. The sun never sets on funding for counterrevolution in the service of empire.

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MINORITY REPORT.

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

In his exchange with E.P. Thompson at the Oxford Union debating society on the question of whether there is a moral difference between the foreign policies of the two superpowers, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger rested his case on one simple premise: The United States is a democracy, with ultimate popular sovereignty over foreign and military policy. Ergo, any comparison between its conduct and that of the Soviet Union is unfair and misleading. That is a good argument and certainly a familiar one. But from the mouth of a member of this Administration, it contains a number of contradictions.

Nobody troubles to counterfeit a dud currency, and the Defense Secretary can scarcely be blamed for basing his argument on democratic principles. Ronald Reagan approaches the peace movement in the same way, by slandering it as totalitarian-inspired and by saying, in effect, "This is a democracy. So shut up." As far as possible, Weinberger and Reagan have kept their foreign policy secret, and under their stewardship, the military decision-making process has been increasingly insulated from civilian control. In the hermetic world thus created, a permanent and unaccountable bureaucracy has taken shape. Weinberger may have had a point at Oxford, where he argued that the American people could stop a war they didn't like. But it is he and his bureaucrats who have the power to *start* one, and there is no consultation process for that.

As the armed forces have become a state within a state, and a law unto themselves, there has been a corresponding and strangely unremarked politicization of the officer corps. At a recent Naval War College seminar in Newport, Rhode Island, the air was thick with political statements from military men. Lieut. Gen. Bernard E. Trainor, deputy chief of staff of the Marine Corps, said that he regarded "limited war" with the Soviet Union as an "almost inevitable probability" (a statement that made up in pith what it lacked in grammar). Vice Adm. James A. Lyons, deputy chief of Naval operations and a close friend of Navy Secretary John Lehman, told the audience that the War Powers Resolution is "insidious." In this, he echoed Adm. James D. Watkins, chief of Naval operations, who earlier this year urged Congress to reconsider the resolution as a means of expiating "the Vietnam syndrome of humiliation and defeat." But he went further than Admiral Watkins in publicly warning against "intellectual corruption" and in suggesting that the United States should have stuck by the Shah and Somoza in the hour of their trial.

Of all these big mouths, General Trainor strikes me as the most significant. He understands that deterrence is a polite fiction, proclaims the likelihood of a clash with the Soviet Union in this generation and says that "the world better get the perception that we bested them, because the fight will be on our turf." Or, as Secretary Lehman observed so elegantly at the same seminar, "Who gets to shoot first will have more to do with who wins than any other factor."

I was mulling over these pronouncements when I came across the results of *Newsweek*'s poll of the opinions of senior military officers. The sample comprised more than one-quarter of the active flag-rank officers stationed in the United States. According to the poll's findings, 28 percent of them believed there are conditions that would justify a nuclear first strike on the Soviet Union. Thirty-five percent believed the United States should pursue military superiority over the Soviet Union, and 21 percent affirmed the belief that there could be a winner in a nuclear exchange between the two superpowers. Ninety-seven percent gave Ronald Reagan a "favorable" rating, while 50 percent gave Congress an "unfavorable" one (*Richard Nixon* got higher marks than Congress from these people). Most said that their religious beliefs were "very important," and four times as many favored the Moral Majority as favored the nuclear freeze movement.

In the past, soldiers went out to fight while civilians stayed gratefully at home. Now civilians are in the front line under open skies while the officers are in the protected bunkers. This change of role has done little or nothing for the modesty of the brass. They are increasingly given to political intervention and are overwhelmingly committed to the sort of politicians who reward them with massive subsidies and privilege. Recall the case of Air Force Gen. Richard H. Ellis, who, as head of the Strategic Air Command in 1980, approached the Reagan campaign, asked for a meeting with the candidate via Ed Meese and stated that he wanted "to blow Jimmy Carter out of the water." Ellis has since got a cushy post to sweeten his retirement.

Under previous Administrations, and especially after Truman faced down Douglas MacArthur, there had usually been some sense of civilian control over military excess. Not in this Administration. At his press conference on June 22, Ronald Reagan was asked about General Trainor and took refuge in pretending that he hadn't seen the full text of the remarks. "My theory is," he added idiotically, "that there doesn't have to be a war." Great. On June 26, there came a weaseling memo from Weinberger's desk. It says that speeches by senior officers should be cleared by the Defense Department in advance, and that prepared texts should be adhered to. It adds, "Damage can be incurred to the cause of regaining our military strength by inadvertent or ill-considered statements." In other words, no rebuke but some advice on P.R. and dissembling, couched in the usual atrocious prose.

General Trainor's First Amendment rights are quite safe from me. I don't think he or Vice Admiral Lyons or any of the rest of them should shut up or be shut up. Senator Robert Byrd, the Democratic minority leader, completely missed the point when he termed their comments "outrageous," just as Weinberger missed the point when he warned them to be more circumspect. Senator Byrd high-mindedly recommended that the officers concerned should resign "and run for office as politicians." His sarcasm is wasted. Why should the generals and admirals submit to election in order to achieve the power (of life and death over the rest of us) that Congress has already voted them?

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ARTICLES.

NO MORE LESSER EVIL

What Socialists Can Do in 1984

SIDNEY LENS

Once again, this fall many thousands of Americans who consider themselves socialists will vote for a capitalist Presidential candidate, probably Walter Mondale. They will choose the "lesser evil," saying, in effect, there is no alternative because socialism, though a good idea, is a long way off.

Certainly it is a good idea to defeat Ronald Reagan, and socialists should vote. But that is the least important thing they can do in politics this year. What they can do is try to change the *climate* of American politics by shifting it to the left. Specifically, they can participate in the demonstrations planned for San Francisco and Dallas during the Democratic and Republican National Conventions. They can help organize the October 13 events being sponsored all over the country by the nuclear freeze movement, and contribute to many other actions slated by groups opposed to Reagan's interventionist policies in Central America, the Persian Gulf and the Caribbean. They can conduct regular vigils protesting the nuclear arms race.

All that and more will make a greater contribution to Reagan's defeat than simply ringing doorbells for Mondale, selling the Democrats' milk-and-water programs and *their* political system. In the short term, tenacious activism on immediate issues will allow socialists to move beyond the game of lesser evil and make it possible to begin the process of socialist revival.

There are three structural reasons for socialists' failures at the ballot box in recent years. First, the American political system is rigged against third parties. Just to get on the ballot requires thousands of signatures on petitions. Although the requirements are less stringent than they were a few years ago, they still drain much of the energy and funds of third parties.

Another hurdle is the psychology behind the electoral process. Americans proudly say that they "vote for a man, not a party." Party platforms, therefore, are merely gloss for nominating conventions, forgotten the day after. Since there are no binding programs, voters must judge what a candidate is likely to do on the basis of character. I call it politics by psychoanalysis. The candidates play along, de-emphasizing their political programs, selling themselves primarily on personal attributes and caricaturing themselves with clichés: "a leader," "the best man for the job," "a man of proven ability." This type of campaign, using brief but expensive television spots aimed at getting "name recognition," requires far more money than one in which each political party promotes the *common* program of hundreds of candidates. The millions of dollars demanded are far beyond the means of leftist groups.

Single-district, winner-take-all representation also puts small parties at an enormous disadvantage. In 1980 the Citizens Party was not able to get a single candidate elected to Congress. If there had been proportional representation in which a party wins a percentage of seats equal to its share of the vote, it and other third parties might have won a handful of seats in Congress, establishing a base from which to grow and a national forum for their views. They also would have received much more support from leftists and socialists who often fear that a vote for a third-party candidate "won't count."

But beyond the structural obstacles, socialists have a bigger political problem. Stated simply, they have neither a dream to attach themselves to nor an ogre to flagellate. The socialist dream is tarnished by both the communist experience in Eastern Europe and the social-democratic experience in Western Europe. The Soviet Union shows little sign of the "workers' control of production" that Lenin envisioned sixty-seven years ago, and the right-wing socialism of François Mitterrand and Helmut Schmidt looks suspiciously like Keynesian capitalism. For the vast majority of people in the United States, socialism has no luster; for most of those who think of themselves as socialists, it is more a matter of sentiment than a recipe for political action.

On the other side of the equation, capitalism no longer seems like an ogre to most who are left of center. It remains inhumane, discriminatory, oriented toward the rich, hostile to the poor, rabidly domineering in its adventures overseas and militaristic to the tip of its toes. But like it or not, it has provided a plentiful life for most of us.

As a result of all this, tens of thousands of demoralized socialists and communists are looking to the least offensive capitalist candidates and are presenting programs that are Keynesian rather than socialist. The Communist Party is running Gus Hall and Angela Davis on its Presidential ticket, but it supported Jesse Jackson's policies in the primaries and may give a backhanded nod to the Democratic standard-bearer in November. Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialists of America continues to work within the Democratic Party, trying to build a "socialist faction." The Trotskyist groups running candidates this year are not likely to gain much of a following, and the Maoist forces have virtually disintegrated. Clearly the socialist movement in America is looking for a rebirth. It needs much more than a candidate to latch onto. It needs a new political analysis and a new organizational structure.

A number of steps are indicated. Socialists ought to probe why leftist predictions, especially of the 1930s and 1940s, have been so wrong. They may or may not have been the result of basic flaws in Marxism, but the highly centralized

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structure of most leftist parties—borrowed from czarist Russia—has inhibited original thinking in the American socialist movement. Today's socialists must design an organizational form suited to the United States of 1984—loose and populist. And they must formulate a political program that is at least partially realizable in the near future.

The period of grace that Keynesianism bought for capitalism is coming to an end. Despite a year of recovery in the United States, the world economy is in disarray. We are unlikely to have another Great Depression, but the attendant problems, including inflation, will create a major crisis in both the developed and the underdeveloped nations. Given that prospect and the worsening relations between the superpowers, we can expect millions of people—even in the United States—to become amenable to ideas for basic social change. At this point no one can describe the exact contours of that change or the precise methods to achieve it, but we can describe many measures toward that end—what might be called a revolution in stages.

To put it differently, a socialist economy may not seem realistic, but numerous individual socialist programs that could alter the existing economic structure are, or soon will be. For instance, it might be possible to mobilize large numbers of Americans to support public ownership of banks and credit institutions, and of the steel and other smokestack industries. A program for government-sponsored jobs could certainly win a constituency, and so could a revised income tax that would put any earnings exceeding a specified amount in a 100 percent tax bracket. If the industrial downturn begins soon, many Americans will be plugging for reindustrialization programs of the type outlined by Felix Rohatyn, Lester Thurow, Barry Bluestone and others. But millions more will be open at least to discussion of national decentralized planning.

These steps do not constitute a socialist program per se, but they are *part* of a socialist program, and they can be made acceptable to many millions of people. Socialists, therefore, ought to concentrate on building single-issue organizations: one, say, for a new national bank act, another for national planning, a third for full employment and so on. There is no reason for socialists to remain isolated from the mainstream of American life. If they discard their Soviet past, rethink the future in a new context, find a better structural form and put forth a program in stages, they can escape their isolation. □

Insights for Workability
by Leon Michael

Within the grasp of each human being is the power to transform any condition of one's life. Any unwanted yet persisting situation or circumstance in your life is a result of your inability to recognize what it is you are resisting. RESISTANCE CAUSES PERSISTENCE, this is a fundamental law of physics. The insight is to know you are resisting the context not the content, thus it persists. Those of you who are struggling with any persisting situation or circumstance are invited to act in your own best interest and order INSIGHTS for WORKABILITY, $7.95 payable to CAUSE, Box 18412, Irvine, CA 92714

Democrats' Future

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

ual movements last October in the keynote speech at the gay Human Rights Campaign banquet at the Waldorf-Astoria; by March, gays were openly supporting Hart in the New York primary and Mondale in other states. Jackson talks to unionists and women, and last November 12 he addressed marchers who had come to Washington to demonstrate against U.S. intervention in Central America. But sympathy to his overtures rarely led to organized support. Barry Commoner urged the Citizens Party to endorse Jackson—if there was ever a natural white base for Jackson, it was there—but the party is putting up its own candidate, leaving a lonely Commoner to enter the Rainbow unattended.

Long before Louis Farrakhan slouched into the headlines, white leftists had run through every excuse to withhold support from the black candidate. First there was the argument that only a respectable black with a significant white following should be allowed to swim in the Democratic mainstream. Then there was the notion that any black candidacy would provoke a backlash from white voters. Next came charges that Jackson was, in turn, a charlatan, a crook, an anti-Semite, a capitalist roader, a poor administrator, a divisive force. Quickly the dark motif of Campaign '84 changed from Anybody But Reagan to Anybody But Jackson. Once again, racism destroyed the promise of a populist, progressive, internationalist coalition within the Democratic Party.

As had to happen, Anybody became Walter Mondale, and he arrived promoting a platform as immoderate and regressive as any to be found in the Democratic Party archives since John W. Davis's unremembered candidacy of 1924. With substantive objections only from Jackson's underrepresented contingent, the party's preconvention committees adopted policies and accepted planks that contained the essential elements of Reaganism: continued military expansion, support for Reagan's allies in Central America, the Caribbean and the Middle East, further degradation of the welfare system, denial of black demands for equity and unqualified submission to the imperatives of the corporate system.

Complicit in the first formal expression of Mondaleism are those who early and often endorsed Mondale without reservation: leaders of the National Organization for Women, organized teachers, democratic socialists, black officeholders, labor hierarchs, Hispanic leaders. They must now be foot soldiers in a campaign whose captains are implacably antagonistic to the principles and concerns of their constituencies. What can Mondale's tame left flank do, for instance, to rescue poor women, blacks, service workers and the young and old from the ranks of the growing underclass

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impoverished by economic policies and structures Mondale endorses? How can socialist leaders save socialist politics from the isolation, irrelevance and ultimate extinction ordained by complaisant submission to Democratic Party practices? How can union chieftains get more power for union members when the point of Mondaleism is the expansion of management control? How can black politicians win from Mondale what they have been denied by the party machinery for years on end?

Where does the left—the white left, that is, which refuses to concede Jackson's validity and hardly acknowledges his existence—stand now? It has given up on class struggle, black liberation, the Third World, even détente. It can hardly remember the nuclear freeze. Its only live demand, settled last week, was the promotion of a woman as the Democratic Vice-Presidential nominee: the transubstantiation of politics into symbolism. If she does anything, Geraldine Ferraro will activate the party ticket, but is poorly placed and notoriously disinclined to shift its gravity from dead center. She was, after all, chair of the platform committee which ratified the party's present conservative cast. Those who rejoice at her appointment should remember as well the politics her appointment is being used to ratify. To what degree, therefore, will symbol become sedative?

Is this bleak prospectus the inevitable consequence of what Michael Harrington recently extolled as the necessary strategy for any left in America today: that "the Democratic Party, with all its flaws, must be our main political arena"? Harrington, co-chair of the Democratic Socialists of America, and Irving Howe, editor of *Dissent* and avatar of democraticsocialism as an unhyphenated ideology, chatted at great length recently in *The New York Times Magazine*, which touted them as "Voices From the Left." The import of their conversation, which ran 8,000 words without one mention of the difficult name Jackson, was the denial of any vital role for the left in current politics.

They are wrong. There is a way to salvage something of the left's presence even this late in the year, to broaden its constituency and sphere of action, to begin building a role for the next decade—and still engage the realities of the two-party system. But the left must first accept the invitation of history.

Heedless of the seismic convulsions in the American economic and social landscape during the last two decades, the left continues to read old history, the chronicles of the New Deal and its successor deals in the postwar boom. In that long time, the Democratic coalition offered industrial workers, the new urban and suburban middle class and white ethnic minorities (overlapping categories, to be sure) a certain measure of economic security, social mobility and political influence in return for their cooperation in the governing strategies of state and business in the American Century. The bargain gave labor wage security in exchange for docile acceptance of management supremacy in all significant economic decisions.

The bargain began to unravel in the early 1960s, when the underclass mutinied. The Democratic response was the War on Poverty, a kind of Federal trust fund for the civil rights revolution. But the war was lost. A few statistics illustrate the size of the rout. In 1965, the poorest 40 percent of the population earned 11 percent of the total U.S. market income; nearly a decade and a half later, that same group's share had shrunk to 8.5 percent. From 1945 to 1983, black male participation in the labor force fell from 80 percent to 60 percent. The poor got poorer and the blacks got unemployed.

In his trenchant résumé of postwar American history, Mike Davis, writing in the January-February 1984 *New Left Review*, stresses that the civil rights revolution

> fundamentally failed in its ultimate goals of achieving the mass incorporation of black labor into the high-wage economy, or of surmounting the barriers of *de facto* segregation in Northern schools and suburbs. A generation after the first March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, black unemployment remains double that of whites, while black poverty is three times more common. Sixty percent of employed black males (and 50 percent of Hispanics) are concentrated in the spectrum of the lowest paid jobs.

The number of working women doubled between the Eisenhower and Reagan Administrations, though in the same period their earnings declined to 59 percent of the average wage for men. In 1980, one-third of all full-time women workers earned less than $7,000 a year, as against a white male median of $17,000.

A populist, progressive Democratic Party could have entered the 1970s with a renegotiated social compact, an expanded coalition and a renewed vision. It could have proposed to bring women and blacks into better-paying jobs; to reform tax and spending policies to expand public services and collective consumption; to apply Keynesian theories to a peace-building rather than a warmaking economy; to answer increasing demands for better health care, education, recreation and a clean environment. And, indeed, there was a ready-made activist base and an eager constituency for change in the civil rights, black liberation, women's and peace movements of that period.

DRAWINGS BY J-C SUARÈS

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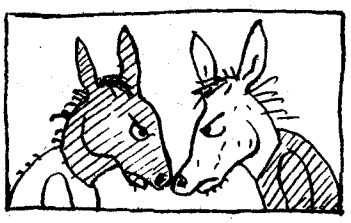
It was the road not taken. The Democratic Party leaders and their allies—Hubert Humphrey, Henry Jackson, George Meany—were unprepared to accept the necessary conditions for the directional shift. They could not imagine converting to a peace economy when the war economy (and the ideology that rationalized its expansion) had been the foundation of Democratic fortunes since 1939. Labor leaders could not countenance the threat to their power implicit in the demands a militant and unified work force would make for integration, participation in management decisions and conversion. And finally, the party bosses would not allow a broad alliance of disenfranchised blacks, poor people, women and low-wage workers to challenge their hold on the party and its agenda. In short, the Democrats would not accept a transformation of their party.

The party traditionalists counterattacked. Labor leaders forced blacks out of training programs, bucked affirmative action and literally assaulted those who protested the war system. In 1972, Democratic hierarchs and their labor lieutenants decided to defect from the campaign of their party's candidate—standard-bearer of the popular alliance at its strongest hour—rather than permit a new politics to develop. On that scorched earth was built the political architecture of the next period.



With its crumbling coalition and its old commanders, the Democratic Party now faces an entirely changed landscape. The road the country did take as the postwar boom ended led to the famous split-level economy, with its vast low-wage ghetto (containing a third of the labor force), its newly employed and scandalously underpaid female component and its powerful echelons of the new rich. Consider the expanding service economy and its fastest growing sectors.

§ Health: A half-million highly paid doctors and dentists sit atop a slag heap of 3 million clerical and blue-collar medical workers, the largest single segment of low-wage labor in the United States.

§ Business services, particularly banking and real estate: High-priced lawyers set their meters at $250 an hour, while legions of bank tellers, secretaries and clerks sitting next to them are lucky to make $5 in the same amount of time.

§ Fast food: At the apex of the arches are the franchise burger Meisters, and at the bottom the young, black and now old counter jockeys, whose average wage is below that of farm laborers.

To sustain and expand their privilege, the new rich have mounted one of the most successful campaigns in American political and economic history. From the tax revolts of California to the tax programs of the Republican Administration and the Democratic Ways and Means Committee, the large upper class has devised schemes to make a better living for itself at the expense of the even larger underclass. Despite spasms of opposition to one or another policy or piece of legislation in the assault, the Democrats are incapable of challenging the basic corporate campaign. For it is an attack in which those who beat back the new politics in 1972 have a large stake. They cannot meet the enemy; they are it.

The Democratic weakness is much more structural than spiritual. For instance, the present phase of military expansion, from 1977 to (at least) 1986, is the longest in U.S. history. Amid long-term stagnation, it is the engine of what vigor remains in the economy. To cut back on such spending in any substantial way would be to assail steel, machine tools, aerospace, shipbuilding—all of which are, in labor terms alone, core parts of the Mondale coalition. Mondale could no more allow antimilitarist sentiment to threaten the war industry than he could let insurgency threaten Third World regimes in hock to the American banking system.

Mondale pretends to include members of the newly expanded underclass in his old coalition, but the programs he espouses leave no place for them except as voters on election day. Gary Hart could have undercut Mondale by embracing the popular alliance that the old Democrats ignored. Instead, he chose to clothe his neoliberalism—the politics of lowered expectations—in bogus generational rhetoric. In the end, his only issue was the difference between Mondale's birthdate and his own, whatever that may be.

So, in control are the Democratic "pragmatists," as the pollsters and pundits call them, the ones who argue for party unity at the expense of movement and who propose that the way to beat Reaganism is to denounce its excesses while accepting its premises. The pathos of their opportunism lies in its shortsightedness. As every tactician attests, the key to defeating Reagan is turnout. But turnout has political content and context. People will not simply vote for Anybody But Reagan; they want somebody who speaks to their interests, who promises them more than they've got and who offers them hope.

The enormous nonvoting constituency of today is located in the lower precincts of the split-level economy. Its participation in the election is by no means assured. But it is there that the left must look for its opportunities and discharge its responsibilities in the next period.

The only way the left can work within the Democratic Party is to act without it. That is, the future of the party will be determined by the development of forces operating on its margins or beyond its boundaries (just as the developing American political economy—"late capitalism"—faces its most serious challenge at the hands of the Third World, both within and outside the national frontier). The constituency that formed in response to Jackson's campaign is a prime example. Its votes are absolutely necessary to defeat Reagan, but its priorities set it directly against the power and position of the Democratic mainstream. The pragmatists who want the votes will soon see that those votes don't come free and that without a significant reordering of the Democratic agenda, the new voters will not stream to the polls.

Unlike the bloc bosses who rushed to endorse Mondale before they made a deal, the blacks of the Jackson campaign were savvy from the start. Ironically, they may have learned a lesson from the strategy Jewish leaders have employed since 1968: that it is at least as important to assert

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power in a coalition as to submerge it, and to withhold support from a candidate as to endorse him. Good alliances imply clear threats: Gary, Indiana, Mayor Richard Hatcher, chairman of the Jackson campaign, was recently quoted as saying, "Better four more years of Reagan than four more years of disrespect from the Democratic leadership."

The same holds true for the constituency of women voters which, like Jackson's somewhat attenuated Rainbow, poses a major obstacle to Reagan's re-election. As Barbara Ehrenreich pointed out in a recent article in *In These Times*: "[The] gender gap has more to do with the proletarianization of women than it does with feminist ideology. It is poor women, and most strikingly, poor, single, working women, who account for much of the aggregate gap." Ehrenreich makes the essential point that it is economic issues and not traditional feminist issues like the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion that account for the gender gap.

To address the concerns and accommodate the needs of the female proletarians, a political party and the political economy itself would have to undergo change considerably greater than the existential *frisson* engendered by the nomination of a woman as Vice President. Because NOW asked only for that gift, there is no reason for Mondale to move toward the changes that could materially improve the lives of the mass of women whose votes he expects.

The left has a history of attachment to a political logic that admits two equally unacceptable alternatives: isolation in purist parties (activists and intellectuals doomed to life on the margins of social practice) or total immersion in the belly of the Democratic beast. Once the left sees that party as the only possible vehicle, it is trapped in the lesser-of-two-evils paradox and ends up as a cheering section for the most reactionary elements in it.

To see a way around the paradox, and escape the logic, the left need look no further than the Jackson campaign's project to form a popular coalition of people who need change most and can be counted on to fight for it hardest. Rainbowism is certainly the most interesting news in this political season, and potentially the most wrenching historical development since the labor struggles of the 1930s. It offers an example of how an alliance of the disenfranchised can approach the Democratic Party, use it when necessary and work at some remove when that seems propitious. Symbolic of that complex relationship, Jackson's trips to Syria, Cuba and Nicaragua stand out in high relief against the kind of foreign policy pronouncements other candidates have made. Jackson posed himself squarely against the cold war policies and imperial attitudes that the Democrats have maintained for years. To take a domestic example of the achievements of Rainbowism, Lloyd Doggett would not now be facing Phil Gramm in a momentous Senate race in Texas had it not been for the efforts of the Jackson coalition in the primary campaigns in that state.

But there are other opportunities as well. An election campaign, it should be stressed, is only one avenue of action in the process of empowerment. The methods developed by Ralph Nader, which organize coalitions of consumers at the point of consumption, aggrieved citizens at the point of their grievance and workers in the context of their workplace, make enormous sense for leftist activism. Parties are important but they are not all-important. The Democratic Party is a vehicle, not the only vehicle. It can be used for its power and commanding position in the society.

The first test for the left is upon us. The Democratic National Convention is in large part prepackaged in the rules, methods of delegate selection, platform resolutions and kindred politics of the primary season. But the Jackson delegation, together with wild cards in other candidates' hands, can still insure that radical demands about race, economics, militarism and gender are heard in San Francisco. They can do that in the Moscone Center, perhaps, but more imaginatively in anterooms and hotel suites.

As the fall campaign begins, the left should remember that there's more to politics than is suggested by that self-deprecating formulation of *Realpolitik*: hold one's nose and vote for Mondale. Barbarism with a human face is still preferable to barbarism with a barbaric one, but there are hundreds of other campaigns, scores of local coalitions in formation and numerous activist projects which carry greater weight in an electoral year. Voting for Mondale, the old in/out on November 6, does not necessitate giving up on all those activities.

The Democratic call for unity is a guilt trip when party whips—the ones in the press as well as in power—use it to extinguish all signs of life on the left side of the universe. It is not the left's business to shore up the party and cheer on its candidate every four years. There is a bigger job to do in creating radical alternatives to dead-center politics—and that means regarding the Democratic Party without sentiment or illusion. □

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Registration

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

the neoliberals hope to ride into Reagan Country and bring back some voters.

As Hart's victories in the primaries attest, such a strategy is at least plausible. And for all his criticism of Hart's soullessness, Walter Mondale has made many of the neoliberal themes central to his own campaign, while remaining pointedly silent on the need for major initiatives to benefit more depressed Americans. But whether such maneuverings will help the Democrats' electoral fortunes remains uncertain. With such a strategy the Democrats might gain some wavering Republicans, but they risk losing parts of their old base to protest and abstention. (Those worries have clearly animated the D.N.C.'s many discussions with Jesse

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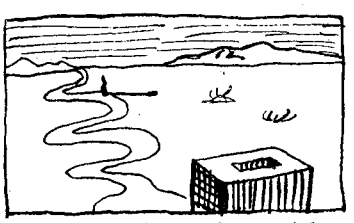
Jackson.) And whatever its strategic viability, neoliberalism as a set of policy prescriptions has even less to offer the bulk of the population, as opposed to the active electorate, than decrepit old liberalism has.

There is, however, a more democratic Democratic alternative. Instead of accepting the boundaries of the electoral game as fixed, the Democrats could begin to redefine them. The party could start to mobilize those millions of Americans—whose sympathies run 2 to 1 Democratic—who cannot participate in electoral politics because they are not registered to vote. The key to such a strategy, straightforwardly enough, is voter registration. This is the other campaign in 1984. It has already begun, with hundreds of predominantly nonpartisan grass-roots groups and coalitions launching registration drives among likely Democratic voters. And if it is encouraged and made part of a vigorous Democratic campaign, it can beat Ronald Reagan in the fall.

But current registration efforts promise, or threaten, to do much more besides. If millions of voters join the Democratic Party, they will not join as mere election fodder but as people with expectations, interests and demands of their own. And since many of these potential voters have views significantly to the left of the party mainstream, the organized articulation of such demands could help pressure for a restructuring of the party from within. Knowing that, Democratic elites have resisted an aggressive widening of the current registration drive and have thus reduced the party's chances of defeating Reagan. They seek a controlled mobilization, or none at all.

This, then, is the choice confronting the Democrats in San Francisco: Play by the established rules or break them; devise an electoral strategy geared to a shrinking electorate or assume the risks of mobilization. What hangs in the balance, quite probably, is not only the outcome of this year's Presidential race but the basic structure of American party politics.



But can voter registration really make a difference in electoral politics? The numbers say it can. Consider past Presidential elections. A shift of 7,000 votes in 1960 would have given Richard Nixon the Presidency eight years sooner than he got it; a shift of 8,000 would have denied Jimmy Carter the office in 1976. And even in the case of Ronald Reagan's "landslide" in 1980, the numbers are revealing. Despite an overwhelming electoral victory (489 to 49), Reagan's percentage of the popular vote was only 50.7, just 0.6 percent greater than Carter's in 1976, and exactly 10 percent less than Nixon's in 1972. In many states, Reagan's margin was very thin (see the tallies for Arkansas, Delaware, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Mississippi, South Carolina and Tennessee in the box on page 47), so small mobilizations of "reliably Democratic" voters—blacks, for example, who vote Democratic at approximately a 90 percent rate—would have made a big difference. This was especially evident in the South. In Alabama, Reagan's margin was 17,642, while the number of unregistered blacks was 272,390. In Arkansas the comparable figures were, respectively, 5,123 and 85,383; in Mississippi, 11,808 and 130,910; in North Carolina, 39,383 and 505,711; in South Carolina, 11,456 and 292,000; in Tennessee, 4,710 and 157,673. Elsewhere, the story was similar. In New York, Reagan's plurality was 165,459; the number of unregistered blacks was 893,773. Assuming a 9-to-1 Democratic split on the black vote, if 20 percent of the unregistered black population had signed up and voted, 41 electoral votes (in 1984, alas, it will be only 36) would have been delivered from the hands of the Reaganauts.

Indeed, if you really like toying with numbers, consider the scenario for a Democratic landslide (!) recently laid out by University of Pennsylvania sociologists Fred Block and Jerry Jacobs. Start with the assumption that the Carter performance in 1980 represents a minimum base for the Democratic candidate in 1984. Thus, the count begins with the 49 electoral votes Carter garnered from the District of Columbia (3) and from six states: Georgia (12), Hawaii (4), Maryland (10), Minnesota (10), Rhode Island (4) and West Virginia (6). Then assume a 75-to-25 Democratic-Republican split of the votes that went to John Anderson in 1980, the argument being that the major themes that brought him support, such as environmental concerns and women's rights, are better echoed by Democrats than Republicans. That throws another 76 electoral votes into the Democratic column, from states where the Anderson factor was significant—Arkansas (6), Delaware (3), Maine (4), Massachusetts (13), New York (36), Vermont (3) and Tennessee (11)—driving the total to 125. Then assume, the argument here being simply that the gender gap is real and widening, that despite picking up one-quarter of the Anderson votes, Reagan loses two percentage points from his 47 percent share of the women's vote in 1980. That gives ten more states—Alabama (9), Connecticut (8), Illinois (24), Kentucky (9), Michigan (20), Mississippi (7), North Carolina (13), Pennsylvania (25), South Carolina (8) and Wisconsin (11)—to the Democrats, bringing the total to 259. Then assume a 10 percent increase in black voter turnout (hardly a radical assumption, given the events of the last few months). That delivers Democratic victories in Louisiana (10) and Missouri (11), lifting the nominee over the top. The possibility of a landslide, improbable as it may seem now, grows if you assume a 20 percent increase in black turnout. With that the Democrats could win Ohio (23), Virginia (12) and Oregon (7), pushing their total to 322. At that point Reagan's 1980 victory margins in big states like California (47), Texas (29) and New Jersey (16) start looking less impressive. And at *that* point . . . et cetera.

The numbers also suggest that registration levels could make a big difference in this year's Congressional elections. In 1980, nine of thirty-four Senate races were decided by 2 percent of the vote or less. Republicans won seven of those, emerging with a 53-47 majority instead of (had they lost all nine) a 46-54 minority. In 1982, a shift of 1 percent of the vote in five states—Vermont, Rhode Island, Virginia, Mis-

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souri and Nevada—would have meant a Democratic majority in the Senate. Overall, between 1980 and 1982 Republicans won fourteen of the seventeen Senate races decided by two percentage points or less. Those figures might be kept in mind particularly with a view to the 1986 Senate elections, when twenty-two Republicans will be up for re-election. But even in the House, which presents the famous "case of the vanishing marginals" (the disappearance of districts where competition of some sort thrives), most "close" elections are decided by less than 7,000 votes. In many, the margin is razor thin. A total shift of only 44,000 votes, for example, would have changed the outcome in twenty House seats won by Republicans in 1982.

Of course voter registration alone cannot guarantee Democratic success. Boring and issueless campaigns like those of the past can always snatch defeat from the jaws of victory. What the numbers do suggest is that there are people out there who can beat the Great Persuader. And even if he wins in November, the general point still stands: voter registration can make a huge difference in conventional national politics. The question is whether enough nonvoters will be reached.

Certainly there are plenty of them. Throughout most of the twentieth century the overwhelmingly dominant political party in the United States has been the "party of nonvoters," and with the exception of an upturn in the 1982 midterm Congressional election, voting participation in national politics has declined steadily since 1960. In the 1980 election, for example, only 52.6 percent of the voting-age population participated; about 78 million voting-age Americans did not. Ronald Reagan achieved his landslide by garnering the votes of just under 27 percent of the eligible electorate,* in a contest in which the number of nonvoters outnumbered Reagan voters 2 to 1. In the 1982 midterm, despite an increase in participation over 1978 levels, only 37.7 percent of those eligible voted in House elections; 105 million voting-age Americans did not. This contrasts markedly with voting participation rates in other capitalist democracies, which commonly run in excess of 70, 80 or even 90 percent in national elections.

In any country that claims to be a democracy, low electoral participation is an embarrassment. But the pattern of participation in the United States is more than that because those who do vote are not representative of the population as a whole. The poorer and less educated segments of the population, clustered in the lower-paying jobs, vote at rates considerably lower than their upscale cohorts. In the 1980 elections, an estimated 70 percent of Americans with annual incomes in excess of $25,000 voted, while only 25 percent of those with annual incomes of less than $10,000 did; 81 percent of those with college degrees cast ballots, while 51 percent of those with only a grammar-school education did. In

*Throughout this article, I follow the convention of identifying the "eligible electorate" with the Census Bureau's estimate of the resident "voting-age population" (V.A.P.). This introduces some distortion, as the V.A.P. includes convicted felons and aliens, who cannot vote, and excludes Americans living abroad who can. Except for those population sectors with high alien densities the distortions are minor, and in any case, the V.A.P. provides the only generally accepted baseline from which to make intertemporal comparisons of voting participation.

The 1980 Election at a Glance

The following statistics, compiled with the aid of The Almanac of American Politics 1984 *and* Statistical Abstract of the United States 1982-83, *indicate the percentages of the popular vote won by the major candidates, Reagan's victory margin over Carter (where negative, the margin of Democratic victory) and the percentage of the voting-age population casting a ballot for President in the election. The numbers in parentheses in the left-hand column represent the electoral votes for 1980 and 1984; where two such numbers are given, the second is the 1984 count.*

	Reagan percent	Carter percent	Anderson percent	Reagan Margin (1,000s)	Turnout percent
United States (538)	51	41	7	8,420*	52.6
East (138, 129)	47	42	9	970	52.5
Maine (4)	46	42	10	18	64.6
New Hampshire (4)	58	28	13	113	57.2
Vermont (3)	44	39	15	13	57.8
Massachusetts (14,13)	42	42	15	4	59.0
Rhode Island (4)	37	48	14	-43	58.6
Connecticut (8)	48	39	12	135	61.0
New York (41, 36)	47	44	8	165	47.9
New Jersey (17, 16)	52	39	8	400	54.9
Pennsylvania (27, 25)	50	42	6	324	51.9
Delaware (3)	47	45	7	5	54.6
Maryland (10)	44	47	8	-45	50.0
District of Columbia (3)	13	75	9	-107	35.5
Midwest (145, 137)	51	41	7	2,536	59.7
Ohio (25, 23)	52	41	6	455	55.4
Indiana (13, 12)	56	38	5	412	57.7
Illinois (26, 24)	50	42	7	377	57.8
Michigan (21, 20)	49	42	7	253	59.9
Wisconsin (11)	48	43	7	107	67.2
Minnesota (10)	43	47	9	-81	70.1
Iowa (8)	51	39	9	167	63.0
Missouri (12, 11)	51	44	4	143	58.7
Kansas (7)	58	33	7	241	56.8
Nebraska (5)	66	26	7	253	56.8
South Dakota (4, 3)	61	32	7	94	67.6
North Dakota (3)	64	26	8	115	64.8
West (102, 111)	54	34	9	3,194	51.8
Montana (4)	57	32	8	89	65.1
Idaho (4)	66	25	6	181	68.0
Wyoming (3)	63	28	7	62	53.2
Colorado (7, 8)	55	31	11	284	56.0
New Mexico (4, 5)	55	37	6	83	51.0
Arizona (6, 7)	61	28	9	283	44.7
Utah (4, 5)	73	21	5	316	64.6
Nevada (3, 4)	64	27	7	88	41.2
California (45, 47)	53	36	9	1,441	49.0
Oregon (6, 7)	48	39	10	114	61.5
Washington (9, 10)	50	37	11	215	57.5
Alaska (3)	55	27	7	44	57.8
Hawaii (4)	43	45	10	-6	43.6
South (153, 161)	52	44	3	1,714	47.3
West Virginia (6)	45	50	4	-33	52.9
Virginia (12)	53	40	5	238	47.6
North Carolina (13)	49	47	3	39	43.5
South Carolina (8)	49	48	2	12	40.6
Georgia (12)	41	56	2	-237	41.3
Florida (17, 21)	56	39	5	628	48.6
Alabama (9)	49	47	1	18	48.8
Mississippi (7)	49	48	1	12	52.0
Tennessee (10, 11)	49	48	2	5	48.8
Kentucky (9)	49	48	2	19	50.0
Arkansas (6)	48	48	3	5	51.4
Louisiana (10)	51	46	2	85	53.1
Texas (26, 29)	55	41	2	630	44.9
Oklahoma (8)	60	35	2	294	52.3

*Because of rounding to the nearest thousand, the state figures on the Reagan victory margin and the regional figures calculated from them are cumulatively 6,000 votes short of the national margin.

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the 1982 election, similarly, those with annual family incomes under $5,000 voted at less than half the rate of those with family incomes in excess of $35,000. And a 1983 ABC poll of Americans who reportedly vote "only rarely" found that 67 percent considered themselves "working class," and 65 percent had jobs that paid by the hour; while only 30 percent considered themselves "middle class," and only 33 percent were either salaried or self-employed. Such a decisive class skew in participation has obvious implications for public policy debate and action.

Solidifying the class skew is America's peculiar system of voter registration. Here, again in contrast to all other advanced industrial states, the burden of registration is borne by the individual (rather than the government), and a welter of administrative barriers stand between would-be voters and the polls. The system is particularly onerous for poor and less educated Americans, who are overrepresented in the ranks of the unregistered, and its overall effect on the shape of the American electoral universe is enormous. Fully one-third of the potential electorate—by one common estimate 36 percent, or roughly 60 million—is not registered. Once they have cleared the registration barrier, however, those in even the most dependent social groups vote at about an 80 percent rate, at least in Presidential elections. And contrary to conventional wisdom, which holds that only about 20 percent of new registrants actually make it to the polls, what nonanecdotal evidence exists indicates that new voters also participate in Presidential elections at about an 80 percent rate. Indeed, given the huge size of the unregistered adult population in the United States and the high rate of participation among registered voters, the American voting problem is perhaps best understood not as a "voting" problem at all but as a registration problem.

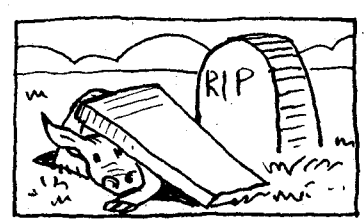
That observation does not imply that the substance and organization of political conflict are unimportant to participation. Between 1960 and 1980 national registration levels remained roughly constant, but some 20 million voters dropped out of the active electorate. No doubt many were driven from the polls by a combination of boredom, resentment and confusion about the electoral choices they were asked to make. No doubt, too, the progressive fractioning of American politics during the period, and the steady decline of political parties as effective organizers and mobilizers of electoral activity, contributed powerfully to mass abstention. What the observation does imply is that increases in registration can independently increase participation and that, a fortiori, in the context of political mobilization, the increase can be pronounced.

Present grass-roots registration efforts are so promising precisely because they proceed in just such a context. Much of the credit should go to Ronald Reagan. His Administration has polarized most of the voting population and has inflicted a huge amount of pain on working people and the poor. Along the way, it has also brought parts of the traditionally inactive electorate back to political life.

First evidence of a post-Reagan voting resurgence came in the 1982 midterm elections. Then, *before* any rise in national registration rates, turnout jumped by 10 million over 1978 levels. The greatest increases in turnout rates were among the unemployed (24.5 percent), blacks (15.6 percent) and blue-collar workers (13 percent), groups that are overrepresented among the ranks of traditional nonvoters. True to form, the new vote split about 2 to 1 Democratic, and the party made its greatest gains in the South and Midwest, where turnout increased the most. Further evidence of mobilization came in 1983, with a string of black and Hispanic Democratic victories in important mayoral races in Chicago, Philadelphia, Denver and Charlotte, North Carolina, in which local registration drives played a key role. And during the Democratic primary season this spring, turnout soared past 1980 levels, with women voting at rates equal to or exceeding those of men, and the Jackson candidacy catalyzing hundreds of thousands of blacks to go to the polls.

More generally, the cumulative efforts of regional voter registration groups are having demonstrable effects. In the South, where groups like the Voter Education Project (V.E.P.) and the N.A.A.C.P. have been running registration campaigns for years, steadily increasing black registration has raised the number of black elected officials from a little less than 1,500 in 1970 to 5,600 in 1983. And in the Southwest, due in no small measure to the massive efforts of the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project (S.V.R.E.P.), Hispanic registration increased 44 percent in Texas, California, Arizona, Utah, Colorado and New Mexico between 1976 and 1980, and the number of elected Hispanic officials jumped 30 percent in those states between 1975 and 1980.

In the past two years, such regional projects have gained momentum. V.E.P. director Geraldine Thompson reports that registration among Southern blacks has increased by 647,000 overall since 1982, with dramatic 30 percent increases in North Carolina and Texas. And S.V.R.E.P. director William Velasquez expects registration of Hispanics in Texas to exceed 1 million by November, more than 25 percent above its 1980 level. In such numbers, Hispanics would be a particularly formidable force in state politics.



But in terms of their potential for Democratic renewal, current registration efforts face many problems. Consider first the matter of cash. Put simply, the Republicans have far more of it than those groups—Democratic and nonpartisan alike—that are registering likely Democratic voters. The Republican National Committee and the Reagan-Bush campaign committee have already amassed a war chest of about $8 million for registration, and their efforts will be supplemented by a number of well-endowed state G.O.P. organizations and a host of right-of-center business and trade associations. Democratic National Committee voter registration director Tony Harrison "guesstimates" conservatively that the Republicans will effectively have a total of $20 million for registration. More-

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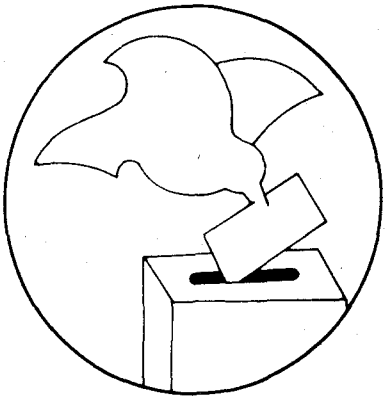
over, in the South especially, they stand to benefit from independent efforts undertaken by the Moral Majority and other fundamentalist groups. At the D.N.C., by contrast, Harrison has as yet seen only a small fraction of the modest $2.5 million putatively budgeted by the Democrats. And while the major nonpartisan groups have picked up some $3.5 million in support from private foundations, their combined budget is surely less than $5 million.

On their own, such differences in funding are not insurmountable. Registration of Republican voters costs more ($5 to $7 each) because they are much harder to find, especially among the poor. Other groups, employing less high-tech wizardry than the Republicans, are spending considerably smaller amounts. Human Serve, for example, organizes public and private social service agencies to offer voter registration as one of their regular services. Its president and executive director, Hulbert James, estimates that the campaign has thus far registered 500,000 voters on a budget of $400,000, or 80 cents per new voter. Still other groups are canvassing for registrants in waiting rooms of health clinics, at unemployment, food stamp and welfare centers, or at major public facilities, including beaches and housing projects. Such "wholesale" approaches to voter registration bring reductions in cost. And they are all the more striking when compared with the capital-intensive techniques of political mobilization—polling, major-market advertising, phone solicitation, direct mail campaigns, professional public relations—that have marked American politics in recent years, which tend to benefit those with capital (recall that the Republicans outspent the Democrats by more than 5 to 1 in the 1980 campaign). Indeed, without exaggerating the point, wholesale voter registration appears to be one of the most obvious ways to redress the unequal funding of the two parties.

But even if money problems are not insuperable, the registration system itself presents serious obstacles. While many of the most egregious barriers to registration codified at the turn of the century—poll taxes, literacy tests and extended residency requirements among them—have been struck down under the pressures of civil rights protest and litigation, the system remains powerfully exclusionary. In many parts of the South, for example, where postcard registration (now used in twenty states) is not an option, official registration sites, such as courthouses, are inaccessible to poor voters. Often enough, the sites are geographically remote (fifty- or seventy-five-mile trips to register are not uncommon in many sprawling rural counties) or are open only during business hours (and closed at lunchtime). Sometimes they are not visibly identified as registration sites at all. In twenty-four counties in Georgia and every county in Mississippi, people are offered only one place to register. Routinely, county officials refuse to deputize volunteer registrars, or else subject them to such painstaking regulation that they cannot go out and do the job. In many Southern counties "dual registration" schemes, whereby would-be voters have to register in two different locations for municipal and county/state/national elections, make the process even more difficult. And, of course, less tangible

Peace is Primary in 1984



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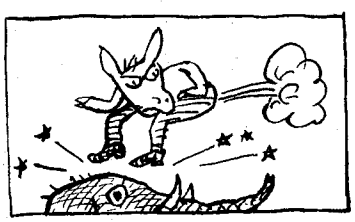
forms of discrimination and intimidation remain.

In the North, as well, registration is commonly administered on the county or municipal level, and local officials have a lot of discretionary authority. New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Massachusetts and Michigan all permit the deputization of volunteer registrars, but local officials in each of those states have thus far blocked the progress of registration drives either by refusing to deputize volunteers or, where they do deputize, by drastically restricting volunteers' activities.

At the state level, volunteer registrars attempting to gain access to public-agency waiting rooms have encountered widespread resistance. Governors in Illinois, Pennsylvania and Missouri have issued orders banning such registration work, and Reagan's Department of Health and Human Services, the Federal sponsor of many of the food-distribution programs commonly involved, has effectively encouraged local resistance by consistently deferring to the states' formulation of access policy.

In response to such obstructionist tactics, a variety of groups—including the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund (L.D.F.), Planned Parenthood, Project Vote!, the American Civil Liberties Union and the Mexican-American Legal Defense Fund—have joined in an emergency coalition coordinated by Human Serve to litigate the access and deputization issues. In the past few months Project Vote! has obtained Federal court injunctions against bans on waiting-room access in Indiana, Iowa, Pennsylvania and Missouri. But Health and Human Services still refuses to change its policy of deferring to the states, and Project Vote! director Sanford Newman concludes that the Reagan Administration "hopes to force us to litigate this issue in hundreds of cases, hoping to win by delay what it cannot win in the courts." Elsewhere in the coalition, L.D.F. filed suit in Federal court last month against Georgia's "passive" (i.e. do-nothing) system of voter registration, asking the court to order the state to assume an "affirmative duty" to register its citizens. Similar suits against Louisiana, Arkansas, Florida and Virginia are being actively prepared. The A.C.L.U., in turn, is challenging state rulings on both the waiting-room access and deputization issues in New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Missouri and Michigan.



But restraining orders and other injunctive relief aside, the wheels of the law grind exceedingly slow, and in the meantime, access to electoral politics is being denied. What may be surprising in this election year is that the denial draws bipartisan support. While Republicans have often taken the lead in blocking voter registration (the governors sued by Project Vote! are all Republicans), the Democrats have not been far behind. Sometimes they take active measures, as the Democratic House in Michigan recently did, passing a bill that bars most state agencies from cooperating with Human Serve in voter registration activities. More commonly, however, they simply do nothing, letting the matter of registration be decided by local officials. With some important exceptions (in Minnesota, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Texas and West Virginia) Democratic governors have neither ordered nor even vigorously endorsed the idea of voter registration in state social service agencies. The same holds for all but a handful of Democratic mayors and county executives (notable here is Peter Shapiro, Executive of Essex County, New Jersey, who recently ordered that registration be offered in all county agencies and began training hundreds of county workers to do the job right). In Massachusetts, for example, where the restrictions on voter registration are so elaborate that they make reactionary Mississippians flush with envy, Gov. Michael Dukakis and Boston "populist" Mayor Raymond Flynn have not challenged the inaction of state social service agency directors or the obstruction caused by local registrars. And at the national level, the D.N.C. has studiously refrained from pressuring state party organizations or elected officials to clear away the obstacles.

In short, while the Democrats have paid lip service to the importance of voter registration, they have failed to exploit the barriers/access question as a major political issue in its own right, and they have not committed the party's organizational resources to a full-scale drive to widen the grass-roots registration efforts under way.

The lukewarm response is symptomatic of those deeper tensions, now utterly familiar, that run between the demands of the party's elite constituency and the needs of its mass base. As these tensions bear on registration, the problem is simple enough. On the one hand Democratic elites need new voters, and the ranks of the unregistered present an obvious place to look for them. On the other hand, they have little to offer new registrants enlisted from the poor and working populations, and are wary of the demands such new recruits might make as the price of their support. The thousands of predominantly poor, black voters mobilized by Jesse Jackson provide a well-known case in point. While everyone agrees that those voters are critical to Democratic success in November, party leaders—who are committed to real annual increases in defense spending of 4 to 5 percent, unwilling to contemplate comprehensive progressive tax reform and intent on making Republican deficit spending an issue in the fall—profess bewilderment about what "deal" to cut with Jackson or his followers. That raises the specter of diminished black participation in November. As N.A.A.C.P. voter registration director Joseph Madison (whose organization's chapters report a nationwide increase of 800,000 in black registration since last summer alone) comments: "What do you say to the masses of people who have registered for the first time? What do you say to those young college students and high-school seniors and that 18-to-34-year-old idealistic black voter who got out in the campaign and stood in line for Reverend Jackson? If they get anything less than what they think they deserve, they're threatening to sit it out. And that would be disastrous."

In the past the Democrats have solved such problems through the careful use of mirrors. This time around, possibly, a more substantive response is required. What needs to be decided in San Francisco and beyond is the

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direction that response should take. Where does the party's future mass base lie? With yuppies, yumpies and yumpteen other upscale groups, or with working people and the poor? This is the choice with which we began.

But of course the choice need not be left to those who now control the Democratic Party. Others can shape the decision, and voter registration is one way to do it. Rolling up the numbers of registered working people and the poor can complicate decisions about the party's future course in interesting ways. It can help beat Reagan and raise the political costs to those in both parties who are happy to continue the carnage of the past few years. It can provide the base for more serious electoral challenges to the current leadership of the Democratic Party, particularly in select local races. It can politicize the centuries-old limits to America's experiment with democratic suffrage. And, just possibly, it can begin remobilizing the American electorate.

This week, as Democratic elites gather to calculate the costs of controlled mobilization versus none at all, those outside the party's higher circles might usefully contemplate that last prospect. To bring American participation levels back to their historic highs, or to a level comparable to those in Western Europe today, something in excess of 80 percent of the eligible electorate would have to vote. How many voters would an 80 percent turnout have required in 1980? More than 130 million, or roughly 45 million more than showed up at the polls. What would it require in 1984? About 140 million voters, or about 40 million more than the most optimistic current predictions. What such a tide of new voters would demand as the price of their participation and what effect they would have on American party politics are open questions. They can be answered only by bringing those voters into the active electorate. But whatever the Democratic Party decides this week, those working on voter registration will continue trying to do just that. And whatever happens in San Francisco, right now is a good time to join them. □

WHO'S DOING IT

Hundreds of groups are active registering likely Democratic voters this year. Here is a partial list of some of the major ones. Contributions to all but ACORN are tax-deductible.

Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN)
413 8th Street SE
Washington, DC 20003
Steve Kest, (202) 547-9292
Neighborhood-based organization with approximately 60,000 low-income members in twenty-seven states. Conducts registration drives in twenty-five cities, targeting low-income voters, minority groups and women. Major drives in Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Bridgeport and Boston. Sponsor of Alliance for Justice '84, a registration and education network organizing a mass demonstration and voter drive in Dallas for August 19, the day before the Republican National Convention opens.

Citizen Leadership Foundation
600 West Fullerton Parkway
Chicago, IL 60614
Heather Booth, (312) 975-3890
Operates in twenty-five states in conjunction with the Citizen Action network of community and state organizations. Provides extensive training support for registration drives and has a 2,000-strong canvassing staff. Major registration efforts in Ohio, Illinois, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Virginia, North Carolina, Iowa and Connecticut.

Human Serve (Service Employees Registration and Voter Education) Fund
622 West 113th Street
New York, NY 10025
Hulbert James, (212) 280-5458
Enlists social service and health agencies to make voter registration a regular service. Active in twenty states, with more than 1,000 cooperating agencies. Concentrates on low-income, predominantly female voters. Hopes to register 2 million low-income voters by November and establish permanent agency-based registration services throughout the country. Co-sponsor, with United States Student Association, of Freedom Summer to recruit several thousand additional registration volunteers and conduct registration drives in sixty-eight cities and twenty-three states.

Midwest Voter Registration Education Project
50 West Broad Street, Suite 1225
Columbus, OH 43215
Juan Andrade, (614) 464-1116
Conducts registration efforts in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Ohio and Wisconsin. Concentrates on Hispanic, black, Indian and other minority and poor voters.

N.A.A.C.P. Voter Education Department
20314 Grand River
Detroit, MI 48219
Joseph Madison, (313) 533-5611
Coordinates voter registration activities with 1,800 N.A.A.C.P. chapters throughout the country, using a variety of techniques, including neighborhood "instant organization" of coordinated block captains, canvassing of social-service waiting rooms, "voter circles" in churches. Sponsored Overground Railroad marches in 1983, linking registration efforts in the South and North. Another march scheduled this summer. Nationwide program of deputization of high-school principals. Hopes to register 1 million in 1984.

National Coalition on Black Voter Participation
1301 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Suite 309
Washington, DC 20004
Gracia Hillman, (202) 626-3532
Coalition of eighty-eight national groups, active in twenty-seven states. Conducts its own drives and assists community organizations in theirs. Activities include Operation Big Vote, Black Women's Roundtable and a major radio public service announcement program, Operation Big Vote—RAP. Goal for 1983-84: 25 percent increase in black registration, or 2 million new voters.

Project Vote!
1201 6th Street NW, Suite 219
Washington, DC 20036
Sanford Newman, (202) 293-3933
Operates in twelve states in cooperation with a variety of labor, registration and social action groups. Concentrates on poor voters, reached through canvassing of social service agency waiting rooms.

Southwest Voter Registration Education Project
201 North St. Mary's Street, Suite 501
San Antonio, TX 78205
William Velasquez, (512) 222-0224
Keys on Hispanic, Indian and other minority voters, mostly in Texas, California, Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico. Extensive research capabilities.

Voter Education Project
52 Fairlie Street NW, Suite 360
Atlanta, GA 30303
Geraldine Thompson, (404) 522-7495
Operates in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. Provides extensive technical assistance and training for registration projects. Concentrates on black and other minority voters. Goal for 1984: 500,000 new black voters.

Women's Vote Project
1410 Q Street NW
Washington, DC 20009
Joanne Howes, (202) 462-8606
Major coalition of some seventy-four national women's organizations, including Church Women United, League of Women Voters, National Abortion Rights Action League, NOW, 9-5 National Association of Working Women, Planned Parenthood and Women USA. Provides support for implementing voter registration plans that each of the member groups has devised. Assists local coalitions active in some twenty-four states. Focuses on low-income and minority women, and on single heads of households.

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

...And Ladies of the G.O.P.

MICHAEL MALONE

". . . AND LADIES OF THE CLUB." *By Helen Hooven Santmyer. G.P. Putnam's Sons. 1,176 pp. $19.95.*

Properly publicized, nothing succeeds like failure, particularly when its hucksters belong to the industry that inflicted the initial wound. Hollywood, for example, adores films excoriating its powerful heartlessness and takes sentimental satisfaction in rewarding its own victims: Ingrid Bergman wins an Oscar for having been ostracized by those who give Oscars. Publishing is no different: it fervently gloats over how many times it turned down William Kennedy's *Ironweed* before wreathing the book in loot and laurel. An even noisier lemming rush chased John Kennedy O'Toole's *A Confederacy of Dunces*. Eleven years after its young author, depressed by innumerable rejections of his novel, committed suicide, his mother persuaded Walker Percy to persuade Louisiana State University Press to publish the book. It became a best seller and won the Pulitzer Prize in 1981.

As Reagan would say, here we go again. In 1982, Ohio State University Press printed a few hundred copies of a 1,176-page novel called *". . . And Ladies of the Club,"* by Helen Hooven Santmyer, an octogenarian resident of a nursing home in a small southwestern Ohio town. The book received a few regional reviews and sold modestly. Now, in *The New York Times Book Review* of June 24, a full-page ad announces that G.P. Putnam's Sons has 200,000 copies of this same novel in print; the book is praised in a long review by Vance Bourjaily and listed (before publication) as number two on the *Times* best-seller list. Book-of-the-Month Club has paid $110,000 to make *". . . And Ladies of the Club"* its main selection; Berkeley Books has paid $400,000 for the paperback rights; and *Family Circle* is serializing Miss Santmyer's encyclopedic tome of middle-American social, theological and political mores from 1868 to 1932 as "an unforgettable love story." A mini-series is apparently in the works. This book, in industry lingo, has legs.

It has legs without the sex or shoot-outs or glitz that usually accompany such limbs. It has legs without the grace of style or joy of creativity that occasionally accompany such limbs. Its legs have nothing to do with its enormous body (it's longer than *War and Peace*), nor its circumscribed soul. *Ladies* is an earnest, intelligent, stolidly written, leaden-crafted, Sears, Roebuck catalogue of the lives of a great many earnest, stolid, well-off, white Protestant Republican citizens who reside in a small southwestern Ohio town and think its values the center and circumference of the moral universe. The book is village Victorian; the legs are modern Manhattan. Having legs means a novel will walk briskly off the shelf to the cash register, like any other successfully promoted product. Just as literature need not be bad (or good) to fail—Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* was rejected eighteen times—so it need not be bad (or good) to succeed with a helping leg up. Byron's *Childe Harold* sold like *The Michael Jackson Story* because society was agog with scandalous rumors about its author. Many writers who have made their way into the canon were boosted there, in fact, by one leg or another. If not "mad, bad and dangerous to know," they were flamboyantly self-destructive, or hermits, or died young, or fought bulls, or were censored. We're only human; we like a star.

Helen Hooven Santmyer is now a star, a celebrity product, famous for writing a very long book over a very long time at a very advanced age, and for having her book left forlorn by the hearth at first and then whisked off to the ball to marry the Prince of Fortune. As a journalist from *The Washington Post* put it, apparently in all seriousness,

> The bare account of how she produced the work over the years, in her spare time, in sickness and in health, in itself provides an astonishing testament. She wrote it all out in longhand, on a ledger. . . . Let us pause to praise . . . a really good example of the lone and worthy human triumphing in the end. Amid the hog wallow of phonies, hucksters, hustlers, and other assorted Great I Ams . . . rises the name of Helen Hooven Santmyer. She stands apart for fulfilling the American—the universal—dream of achieving a life's ambition. Her hard work has paid off at age 88.

The fact that all this sounds like the sort of speech that would start Reagan weeping into the flag has a lot to do with *why ". . . And Ladies of the Club"* is the right best seller for our neo-Gilded Age. But first, *how*?

The Making of a Best Seller

Again, we have a mother to thank. One Grace Sindell, overhearing a woman tell her Shaker Heights librarian that *Ladies* was the best book she'd ever read, passed the novel along to her son Gerald (a Hollywood "writer/producer/director") who passed it along to one Stanley Corwin (a producer, once highly placed in New York publishing) who passed it along to an old college pal, one Owen Laster (of the William Morris Agency). He was "overwhelmed by its quality" and passed it along to Phyllis Grann, president and publisher of G.P. Putnam's. She was "mesmerized" by its quality and, having purchased the novel "solely on the basis of its literary merit," planned a 50,000-copy first printing. Perhaps Laster mentioned that Sindell and Corwin (who had, of course, already flown to Ohio and bought up the trade rights from a startled O.S.U. Press) were planning a mini-series. Touting *Ladies* as a new *Forsyte Saga*, Putnam's sold the work to Book-of-the-Month Club, where president Al Silverman, "captured" by its quality, crowned it "The Great Middle American Novel," and chairman Edward Fitzgerald added, "There is no way we won't sell more than 100,000 copies of that book."

We are now up to January, 1984. Who knows how many (or how few) people have, at this point, actually read, word by word, this discursive, repetitious and often exhaustingly dull four and a half pounds of paper. *". . . And Ladies of the Club"* is not the longest novel in the world (that honor goes, I believe, to Jules Romains's *Men of Good Will*), but as Putnam's publicist points out, it's twice as long as *Gone With the Wind*. I am not a particularly slow reader, and it took me months to trudge my way dutifully through its

Michael Malone's most recent novels, Dingley Falls *(Harcourt Brace Jovanovich) and* Uncivil Seasons *(Delacorte), are both set in small towns.*

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wrist-wrenching bulk. Moreover, I love long novels with lots of characters, like *War and Peace*, I love Victorian town novels, like *Middlemarch*, I love Great Middle American Novels, like *My Antonia*, I love fat pedestrian family sagas, like *The Forsyte Saga*. I love *Gone With the Wind*. Had *Ladies* been anywhere near as good as the least of these, I would have loved it. But it wasn't and I didn't.

Why I was assigned to read it, why CBS and NBC and ABC and *Time* and *Newsweek* and *Life* rushed to Xenia to tree Santmyer in her nursing home, has little to do with the "Dickensian richness" that Mr. Kefauver of O.S.U. Press saw in those eleven boxes of manuscript she sent him and a great deal to do with the leader-of-the-pack status of *The New York Times*.

On January 12, an article titled "Happy End for Novelist's 50-Year Effort," accompanied by a photo of Santmyer, appeared on the front page of *The Times*. By next day the blitz was on, and out in Xenia, Ohio, at Hospitality Home East, stunned administrators were fielding phone calls as if they were Swifty Lazar. Those dusty copies Mr. Kefauver hadn't been able to sell vanished, except for one he hid in a vault. "Just extraordinary," said he, and sold Santmyer's nonfiction *Ohio Life* (1963) to Harper & Row for $25,000. Harper also optioned her first two novels, *Herbs and Apples* (1925) and *The Fierce Dispute* (1929), though both were already in the public domain. They also bought, sight unseen, her unpublished *Farewell to Summer*. If she has any short stories up in the attic, she should pack them off to Manhattan at once.

The early media flurry sketched a Grandma Moses portrait of Santmyer warbling her woodnotes wild for a half-century to defend small-town virtues against the (surely by now somewhat faded) sneers of Sinclair Lewis. The author, who appears to be a sharp-minded and impressively unflappable woman, made it clear that she is no literary naif. She studied at Oxford, she published books, she worked for Scribner's, she taught English, she was a reference librarian and a college dean. While she took notes for *Ladies* for decades (I suspect *Ohio Life* is one such notebook), major work did not begin until she was seventy, and while she intensely disliked *Main Street*, she has not devoted her life to wreaking revenge on Lewis. Abandoning the Grandma Moses approach, *Family Circle* described Santmyer as "a forerunner of the modern single career-woman." (Unlike most of the women in her book, she has never married.)

The Message of a Best Seller

Whether as ur-feminist or "champion of the small town and of late bloomers everywhere," as *Life* has it, Santmyer is first and foremost *old*. And old is in, from Madison Avenue ("Where's the beef?") to Publishers' Row (note the fuss over 77-year-old Harriet Doerr's first novel, *Stones for Ibarra*). More than old, Santmyer is a defender, like the President, of "Old America"—that mythical Eden where happy, decent, solvent, paternalistic, family-faithful, Good Christian People of the Middle Class live protected by white picket fences from the soot of the fallen world. "Such is our comfortable tradition and sure faith," as Lewis says in the preface to *Main Street*. It is interesting to see journalists contrasting Santmyer's Waynesboro with Lewis's "embittered" Gopher Prairie, Anderson's "twisted" Winesboro and Masters's "morbid" Spoon River—as if we'd slid back a half century and "revolt from the village" literature was freshly shocking. Of course, we *have* slid back, and the conservative character of Santmyer's book is a key to its success. Raised a Calvinist Republican, the author gives every indication of sharing the political views of her protagonists. Asked why she ended the novel in 1932, she snapped, "What I thought of the New Deal wasn't fit to print." Her heroine, Ann (symbol of devoted loving-kindness), regrets dying and leaving the country in the hands of "that bland patronizing demagogue," F.D.R. "Where did all those votes come from? Poor white trash must have crawled out like worms from under stones."

The novel is loosely centered around sweet brunet Ann and saucy blond Sally, and their Civil War veteran husbands, John (a good but gloomy doctor) and Ludwig (a benevolent industrialist). The politics of all four, from age 17 to 70, are as right as Reagan. John: "I didn't fight to set the nigger free." Ludwig: "Our labor force probably doesn't know the meaning of the word [union], and we could replace them easily enough anyway." Sally (after her son gets "an Irish washerwoman's child" pregnant): "What is the use of money if we can't use it to get out of mistakes like this?" Woodrow Wilson is a "pusillanimous pedagogue"; Eugene Debs, a "jailbird"; Populism, "incredible folly"; and, according to these victors of the Civil War, "Negroes would rather fish than work anyday."

The women pass their days paying calls, retiring to have babies, planning theatrical Christmas parties and subscription libraries, writing literary papers for their Women's Club and talking politics, on which subject they are quite *au courant*. There is far more discussion of the need for protective tariffs and the resumption of the gold standard than of their "unforgettable love story." In comparison, Carol Kennicott, with her yearning for romance and her interior-decorating notions of revolution against Main Street, seems astonishingly innocent. An inordinate amount of *Ladies* is given over to secondhand nitty-gritty convention politicking, for Ludwig, Mark Hanna's pal, is a bigwig among delegates. We need

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to remember that, during the postwar years, various gangs of Ohio Republicans were running the country: Grant, the eighteenth President; Hayes, the nineteenth; Garfield, the twentieth; Harrison, the twenty-third; McKinley, the twenty-fifth; Taft, the twenty-seventh; and Harding, the twenty-ninth. The election of each is a major subject of gossip in this novel. That the Ohioans (from the Whiskey Ring to the Teapot Dome) were as inept and/or corrupt a bunch of mediocrities as ever sat in the Oval Office now occupied by Harding's true heir is a view vigorously pooh-poohed by Santmyer's Waynesboroeans. What's good for the G.O.P. is "for the good of the country." Bad times (the Panic of 1873, the Depression) are ultimately troublesome only because they temporarily threaten Ludwig's cordage factory. Of Ohioan Coxey's March to Washington with thousands of unemployed, we hear nothing. Presumably, those sorts would rather fish than work. For the rest, prosperity always triumphs in the end.

But it is as a writer and not as an apologist for reactionary nostalgia that Santmyer must be judged. Indeed, she has wisely judged herself in the person of a novel-writing young woman who appears toward the book's end, her heart set "on being famous," ready to "do a long book about the 60s, 70s, and 80s, covering several generations of life in a small midwestern town." "She laughed at herself ruefully. She was no Galsworthy, much less . . . a Proust."

Exactly so. And while this novel is a prodigious feat of endurance and, in a way, an act of bravery, the result is work and not art. Much has been made of its "thick-textured tapestry of life," but I found the attention to setting curiously sporadic and diffuse—like blurred and spotted rotogravures. Naturally in so long and minutely paced a domestic saga, historical particulars do add up. Slowly, sewing machines, public schools and horseless carriages appear. If not an artist's selective eye for the revelatory detail, Santmyer has a research librarian's eye for the accurate detail, the "iron-gray faille, whose skirt had a deep box-plaited flounce, an overskirt of lilacs foulard." This parenthetical facsimile of life (how a class of people dressed, wed, celebrated, died, worshipped) has in itself the interest (if not the liveliness) of the Lisle Letters or Mary Chestnut's diary. But as Santmyer devotes far more descriptive space to Ludwig's rope factory (her father ran one) than to anything else, we learn rather more about hemp delivery and cable-lay than most readers will find riveting.

More troublesome, she lacks a writer's ear and consequently, her characters lack voices. The middle class speak the writerly prose of the narrator, rather formal even among intimates: "You agree with me that Julia is a completely frigid woman." "It is in your power to make him as happy as it is possible for a man like John to be, who is by temperament moody and unstable, and who is still suffering the nervous traumatism consequent to the war." The faithful blacks speak Uncle Remus: "Res' yo'se'f on yonde' chair." Conversations are repeated again and again as if the author as well as the characters had forgotten they'd already said all this. Talk swings from the mundane—John: "Has the paper come?" Ann: "How could the paper get through this snow?" John: "That was stupid of me. We'll probably not get a paper"—to the philosophical—John to Ann: "It is in the small ways in which love expresses itself that make in the end for happiness, not the overwhelming passion"—to the sociological—Ann to her grandchildren: "Once people get the notion the government has an obligation to support its citizens, there'll be no end to what they'll demand. America will be on a long tobaggan slide downhill to Socialism." Dialogue is used in awkward ways to refresh the reader's memory. Why should Sally need to tell Ann, whom she has seen almost daily for fifty years, that her son "seems to be doing very well as a customer's man in the brokerage firm where his father-in-law's a partner"?

Santmyer has listed among her own favorite writers Dickens, Twain, Balzac and "the Russians." Those are good choices. I wish she could have learned from them extravagance and passion and proportion. In her *Comédie Humaine*, life is kept in ledgers, summer to fall, winter to spring, year by changeless year. It's not that nothing happens; there are immense events—fires, floods, polio epidemics—and domestic calamities—infidelity, divorce, drug addiction, runaways, a probable lesbian's suicide—social scandals and endless deaths, both sudden and lingering. But there are so many of them and most are so patly foreshadowed and so matter-of-factly fulfilled that our response is blunted. Santmyer's detached, summarizing approach works most effectively, and movingly, on her portraits of the cramped, dwindled valiant lives and solitary deaths of three spinsters. There are secondary characters (an elderly suffragette and temperance activist, a bright socialist lawyer, a wry newspaper owner) who struck me as far more interesting than the central figures but who get short shrift. Santmyer also has a talent for the caustic riposte which I wish she had allowed herself to indulge, especially as so much of the book is gossip of a not especially good-hearted kind, among folk with the "universal desire to be the first with the news, particularly bad news."

Fellow members of the real Xenia Women's Club have described Helen Hooven Santmyer as "reticent and austere." Something of that quality stiffens her pen in ". . . *And Ladies of the Club.*" She said she worried people wouldn't think the book dramatic because there wasn't enough violence in it, "nothing hysterical." In fact, it isn't dramatic because there isn't enough drama in it; the author seems to shy away from scenes, not squeamish about their subject matter so much as their fictive nature, as if fiction-making itself were a bit silly. "These things don't happen except in cliché-filled banal novels." "A novelist couldn't have worked things out better," is the embarrassed response to a coincidence. But the great novelists were no more afraid of life's continual clichés and coincidences than they were tempted to use fact to justify fiction.

Asked what she thought of *Ladies*, Santmyer replied, "I think there's something there, but I don't think I can put it into words." She said of her earlier novels, "They never sold enough to make me rich." Well, *Ladies* has made her both rich and famous. The Xenia Chamber of Commerce is preparing a brochure to lead tourists through the fictional sites in the town. Similar steps were taken by the good folk of Sauk Centre, Minnesota ("The Original Main Street"), and of Clyde, Ohio (Winesburg), and of Red Cloud, Nebraska ("Willa Cather Country"). I suggest that anyone who wants to read a "Great Middle American Novel" should go find a copy of *My Antonia*, or *Winesburg, Ohio*, or *Main Street* and *Babbitt*, or *Main-Travelled Roads*, or *Tom Sawyer*. All of those put together are still not as long as ". . . *And Ladies of the Club.*" □

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Some Points of Light

NORMAN BIRNBAUM

Cowardice alone does not explain the behavior of the Democratic Party. In the initial period of the Reagan Administration, at least, a substantial number of Democrats assented to most of the items in the Republicans' confession of economic faith. We, too, they said, are opponents of high deficits, relentless critics of social expenditure and enthusiastic proponents of lower taxes and less regulation for American business. Now that the Democrats have no choice but to feign courage, they remain without credible economic alternatives. Senator Gary Hart's obsessive paeans to "high technology" (about which he is careful to say very little) do not quite conceal his inability to confront the fact that technological innovation downgrades and eliminates jobs. Vice President Walter Mondale's demands for more jobs are far emptier of concrete proposals than the Full Employment Act to which his mentor, Hubert Humphrey, lent his name. The Rev. Jesse Jackson, to be sure, in this as in other matters is more serious: he proposes income redistribution. Still, he, too, hopes that an economic upturn can be achieved by a strategy of spending.

The economy itself remains superbly impervious to those incantations. The banks are overextended and, in some cases, near collapse. Inflation is built into the business cycle. The recent decrease in unemployment has been purchased at the price of a substantial drop in the living standards of most of the employed. A contracting world market shows this nation no mercy. It is no consolation that the market is dominated by the true internationalists among us, the mainly American multinational corporations. Their motto, that money need be loyal only to itself, is a caricature of the theology of the free market. The trouble is that we live in an increasingly theocratic epoch. Khomeini's faith, after all, hardly burns more brightly than that expressed in the daily homilies of Mobil's institutional advertisements.

Political debate about economic issues, within the Democratic Party and between Democrats and Republicans, has become an exercise in staying off the point. It is not simply a matter of a public cretinized by vapid slogans, misleading definitions and fraudulent rhetoric. The purveyors of this stuff have already cretinized themselves. For years, most economists have refused to treat the economy as a political institution with a history. Prices, profits and wages have been depicted as if they were stars situated in remote galaxies, functioning according to laws so arcane that even the economists have difficulty in decoding them. Of course, the economists have been quick to claim that their own difficulties can be safely ignored: in an uncertain world, they offer relative certainty.

The political debate, then, reminds us of the political candidacy of John Glenn: the participants float in ideological space. In fact, we do have an interesting set of new economic ideas whose existence is regarded by both journalists and politicians as if it were a national security secret of the highest order. What is striking about the works before us is that they are able to combine analysis and program. They obviously depend upon critical work in the academy but they are mainly written by persons working outside it. Or by those the academy thinks of as outsiders.

Two of the most concrete proposals come from the Black Coalition for 1984 and the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers. The Black Coalition's *The People's Platform* was written principally by Francesta Farmer, who was staff director of the Congressional Black Caucus. The machinists' book, with a preface by their redoubtable leader, William Winpisinger, was put together by Richard Greenwood—an articulate member of a genus that refuses to die, trade union intellectuals. It is customary to oppose the interests of the black community, with its large share of unskilled and impoverished members, to those of the skilled working class. But while there are differences of emphasis in the two programs, the common assumptions are quite evident. Both demand comprehensive economic and social planning, an end to the excesses of the arms budget and democratic participation in economic decisions. Both contain legislative programs and deal with education, both touch general questions of political community. The machinists, additionally, propose an interesting Technology Bill of Rights.

Each work echoes articles, memorandums and papers that have been circulating for the past years among arms control groups, churches, unions and a variety of public interest coalitions. Intellectual ancestors are not difficult to discern: Wassily Leontief and the *Monthly*

Books Discussed in This Essay:

THE PEOPLE'S PLATFORM. *By the Black Coalition for 1984 and the National Black Leadership Round Table. Office of Congressman Walter Fauntroy. 65 pp. $3.*

LET'S REBUILD AMERICA. *International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers. 275 pp. $2.*

A HIGH PRODUCTION STRATEGY TO REBUILD AMERICA *and* NATIONAL ECONOMIC RECOVERY PROGRAM. *By Representative Richard Ottinger and 148 Democratic Members of the House of Representatives.*

REBUILDING AMERICA: A Blueprint for the New Economy. *By Gar Alperovitz and Jeff Faux. Pantheon. Paper. 319 pp. $10.95.*

ALTERNATIVES: Proposals for America from the Democratic Left. *Edited by Irving Howe. Pantheon. Paper. 137 pp. $6.95.*

BEYOND REAGAN: Alternatives for the 80s. *Edited by Alan Gartner, Colin Greer and Frank Riessman. Harper & Row. Paper. 347 pp. $6.95.*

THE NEW POLITICS OF INEQUALITY. *By Thomas Byrne Edsall. Norton. 271 pp. $15.95.*

ON DEMOCRACY: Toward a Transformation of American Society. *By Joshua Cohen and Joel Rogers. Penguin. 240 pp. $6.95.*

BEYOND THE WASTELAND: A Democratic Alternative to Economic Decline. *By Samuel Bowles, David M. Gordon and Thomas E. Weisskopf. Anchor/Doubleday. Paper. 432 pp. $10.95.*

Norman Birnbaum is University Professor at Georgetown University Law Center.

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Review; Barry Bluestone, Dan Luria, Samuel Bowles, David Gordon, Herb Gintis et al. on the economy; Richard Barnet, Walter LaFeber, Ron Walters and William Appleman Williams on American imperialism; Marion Wright Edelman and Frances Fox Piven on poverty; Bertram Gross and C. Wright Mills on society.

Are these documents, however, isolated if happy instances of a convergence of the left academy and practical politics? A further set of works suggests that they are not isolated at all.

Indeed, very recently, 149 Democratic members of the House of Representatives—a majority of the Democrats in the second house—issued a document titled *A High Production Strategy to Rebuild America*, which recapitulates and extends some of the themes announced by the machinists and the Black Coalition. They call for a "national investment facility," a large-scale educational program, the rebuilding of the infrastructure, as well as "strategies to encourage worker participation in management, profit-sharing, and ownership in U.S. corporations, to improve the quality of work life and enhance industrial productivity and innovation." The document calls for renationalization of the Federal Reserve Bank, which must be instructed to seek "productive investments"—in effect, a two-tier credit system. The signatories also call for cost control measures in the critical areas of energy, food, health and housing, and they take the view that environmental controls may be equated to productive investments. *A High Production Strategy* and the *National Economic Recovery Program*, published as its companion study, suggest, if nothing else does, that a substantial number of Democratic legislators may be classed as social democrats.

Like the two works by the House Democrats, all the books under review are ambitious. They aim to destroy widely believed errors of fact and interpretation in current American socio-economic thought, to propose alternative models of understanding, to promulgate concrete programs. Each dismisses cost-benefit analysis for the tedious vulgarity it is, something employed by shabby genteel academics impressed with the kind of business leaders who forever talk about the "bottom line." Each calls for a restoration of the political dimension to discussions of the economy—political in the sense of our common life, of treating humans as something other than instruments of and objects for calculation. Gar Alperovitz and Jeff Faux's book, *Rebuilding America*, for example, contains far more than even its ambitious title implies. It suggests a new orientation for the U.S. economy, in which the communal context determines economic action. The instructive essays by Robert Lekachman, Michael Harrington and Bob Kuttner in *Alternatives*, edited by Irving Howe, and the one by Ralph Nader in the collection *Beyond Reagan*, edited by Gartner et al., speak in the same accents.

Another salient theme is the planned nature of contemporary capitalism. The defense of the free market is in most cases a purposeful ideological fraud. The manipulation of fiscal and monetary policy to serve powerful client groups and the global shifting of resources by giant corporations are instances of government and private sector planning without which contemporary capitalism could not function. In obdurately flat tones which render the acuity of the analysis more remarkable, Thomas Byrne Edsall's *The New Politics of Inequality* demonstrates that current Republicanism is a planned assault on and occupation of the regulatory state. In the wave of reaction that set in after World War I, William Howard Taft sought and obtained the post of Chief Justice to stem the tide of "socialism." He defined that as constitutional and statutory law which would somewhat attenuate the total sovereignty of capital. No one figure in the present regime is, so to speak, as large, but there are hundreds of diminutive Tafts about.

The extent to which contemporary American capitalism is organically dependent upon its empire and its war machine is a question raised by all these works, although none of them provides a definitive solution. In contributions to both *Alternatives* and *Beyond Reagan*, Gordon Adams shows that the ruinous burden of arms spending can be replaced by far cheaper programs—which would also heighten our security. In *On Democracy*, Joshua Cohen and Joel Rogers offer a valuable discussion of the national security state and the increasing restrictions on liberty it necessarily entails.

There is, however, a limit to the collective pessimism of all the authors. No one suggests that the coincidence of

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another Vietnam with a severe economic crisis could portend an American civil war. But the possibility haunts these books, and they do raise the central political question of the near future: Can Americans transcend the systematic cretinization encouraged by the media and the schools and sustained by the trivialization of debate and the constriction of social imagination?

The authors show unanimity, again, in insisting on the interdependence of American society with the rest of the world. The integration of U.S. corporations with the imperial apparatus and their role in exporting jobs is made clear. The United States has become banker, insurer and speculator for much of the world. While other nations expand the frontiers of production, America is a gigantic Hong Kong in the making, down to the underpaid labor force.

The works contain much that clarifies the present debate on reindustrialization. The choice facing us is between economic planning by a corporate and Federal consortium, with a very minor role for unions, and an experiment in economic decentralization and democratization. Tasks enough await us: the reconstruction of our infrastructure (the rebuilding of bridges, roads, sewage systems, the reintroduction of passenger railroads and of public transit, the sponsorship of solar heating and insulation), the construction of capital equipment for impoverished nations, the revitalization of our educational system. Meanwhile, the tendency of the economy is toward drift and displacement. The more machines set to work, the fewer workers needed. That could open the way for shortened hours, for public enjoyment of the fruits of social productivity: for the pursuit of civilization as well as of existence. The rich, to be sure, have not been especially worthy of their free time; why not democratize access to what could be a new resource?

That, however, would require a new political will, a new consciousness. What chance is there, according to these works, to develop one? In an uncharacteristically elegiac tone, Irving Howe declares that our turn will come again. Perhaps, but at what cost? And what if the ultimate catastrophe occurs? History does know irreversible processes, opportunities not taken, decline and defeat. The authors, in very different ways, suggest that fundamental alterations in American consciousness, more precisely the re-creation of that consciousness, are possible. They do not comport themselves like provincials; they recognize that we have much to learn from the European welfare state and from its social contracts.

Those contracts, however, rest on the political role of strong unions and reformist parties. Those in turn generate support and resources for a critical intelligentsia. Edsall is, again, very instructive on the negative consequences of the decline of American unionism—a theme repeated in smaller compass by Stanley Aronowitz in *Beyond Reagan*. The Democratic Party was most reformist during the 1930s when unions in our nation encompassed 30 percent of the labor force and most of the production workers. The Great Society programs also had union support, often from the public service unions most influenced by the black and women's movements. Groups such as women (treated by Barbara Ehrenreich and Frances Fox Piven in the Howe volume) or consumers (dealt with by Nader in *Beyond Reagan*) may substitute somewhat for the influence unions had in the past. Unless or until Americans see a

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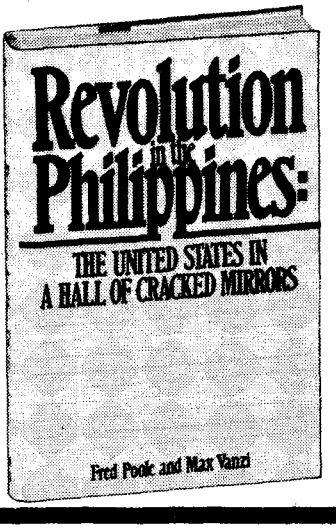

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profound connection between their fate in the workplace and their function as citizens, our politics will remain curiously stunted. The crassness and vacuity of the "young urban professionals" who support Hart no doubt provide confirmation for Christopher Lasch's view of narcissism: the idea that those spoiled children can alter history is a tasteless joke.

The most comprehensive of these works is *Beyond the Wasteland* by Bowles, Gordon and Weisskopf (which has been the subject of a running *Nation* symposium). It contains a systematic analysis of recent American economic decline, which it attributes to institutional developments, not to hypothetical economic processes treated in isolation from the movement of history. The decline of U.S. global power, the end of the highly tentative social contract between capital and labor and the resurgence of citizen interest in economic questions (expressed in the consumer and environmental movements) resulted in a political stalemate during the 1970s. The stalemate was broken at the end of the decade by capital's counterattack through Reaganism.

Searching for an alternative economic program, the authors (university teachers who are connected with unions and citizens' movements) offer a very striking analysis of waste. They suggest that our gross national product could be some 45 percent larger but for waste in various forms, such as underutilized human resources, advertising and military expenditures, excess energy consumption. Obviously, the category of waste entails a philosophical judgment—but so does a "neutral" model of economic analysis which treats every unit of account like every other. The authors advance an extremely detailed agenda for the reconstruction of the U.S. economy. Here they connect with themes in the other works under review: from an economic point of view, the present American system is grossly inefficient. It produces the wrong kind of goods, doesn't produce enough of the right kind, and thereby induces social deprivations and indeed pathologies into the very workings of the system. With its elegantly direct vocabulary, *Beyond the Wasteland* follows a Marxist methodological precept; it is able to demonstrate that the inner contradictions of American society are structural.

Differences of literary felicity, of

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course, mark these works. The volumes edited by Gartner et al. and by Howe have both the defects and the virtues of symposiums. Each contains a multiplicity of perspectives and educative amounts of data, and conveys a decent modicum of hope. The Black Coalition and the machinists talk straight. Cohen and Rogers provide us with a new Marxism couched in impeccably academic prose. Nevertheless, they raise essential issues of American political philosophy, of political philosophy *tout court*. Edsall's prose is spare, and his argument is detailed and above all sustained. The depiction of the political superstructure of recent economic and social changes in America is definitive. Alperovitz and Faux, finally, offer what is in many ways the most original of the contributions—an impressive combination of an immediate political project with a vision of society possessing dignity, even passion. At the moment, passion is concentrated at opposite ends of our political spectrum. Jesse Jackson speaks with moral fervor for the exploited, while the exploiters are bitterly resolved not to concede a single tax break. Books alone will not reactivate the somnolent moral capacities of the formless American center—but these do show that in the general darkness there are some points of light. □

FILMS.

ANDREW KOPKIND

The Pope of Greenwich Village
Once Upon A Time In America
Top Secret
Ghostbusters

In the community of crime, Hollywood works out the ideas of class, career, loyalty and kinship that foreign filmmakers prefer to place in great dynastic families: so we get the house of Don Corleone for the castle of Brideshead. It's easy to see why. The organization of criminal enterprise and the professionalization of the criminal class represent America's lasting contribution to the history of civic culture. Alongside the mythic mobsters in American movies, the European models seem provincial and anachronistic. The failed Sicilian feudalists of the Mano Nera, the petty punks of the Marseille docks, the quaint Cockneys of London's East End, never convey the social presence of our local antiheroes. But crime in America is epic; perhaps, after the West was won and the Civil War buried, it became *the* American epic.

So let's hear it for the boys. Charlie (Mickey Rourke) and Paulie (Eric Roberts) are entry-level hoods in the Little Italy vatican ruled by Bed Bug Eddie (Burt Young), the particularly impious prelate of *The Pope of Greenwich Village*. Fired from their jobs in a restaurant, footloose and broke, they try their luck at a modest heist. What the daffy Paulie knows and fails to tell his more sober cousin Charlie, however, is that the job directly threatens Bed Bug's domain, and that the consequences of apprehension would be disastrous. This pope never heard of Catholic charity; his methods of punishment are likely to leave a trail of limbs and digits along the length of Mulberry Street.

With the assistance of an old lock-picker (Kenneth McMillan) who comes out of retirement for one last crack at an inviting safe, the cousins break, enter, burgle and bungle; it's all part of their job description in the business of crime. In the end, too, they get the best of the boss, for this is more commedia dell'arte than *opera grande*.

As befits his comic form, director Stuart Rosenberg (with a script Vincent Patrick adapted from his own novel) cares more for mood, charm, texture and character than he does for tragic turns. Some critics were annoyed at the similarities in plot and structure between *The Pope* and Martin Scorsese's *Mean Streets*. But the spirit and purpose of the two films couldn't be more different. Scorsese's Little Italy was a lower level of hell, blood red in tone and burdened with Catholic guilt. The roots of the ethnic experience in America were there, but they fed on violence, ignorance, crime and disillusionment. However rich that experience was, no one on the streets should have been sorry to see the inevitable gentrification begin.

Charlie, Paulie and the gang are much happier fellas. They are as concerned about the taste of the local mozzarella as they are about the quality of guilt, and they love their tight and tidy community without regard for its criminal organization. At least the pope keeps out the real criminals, and we know who they are: the outsiders who would disrupt the texture of communal life.

As Charlie, Mickey Rourke struts

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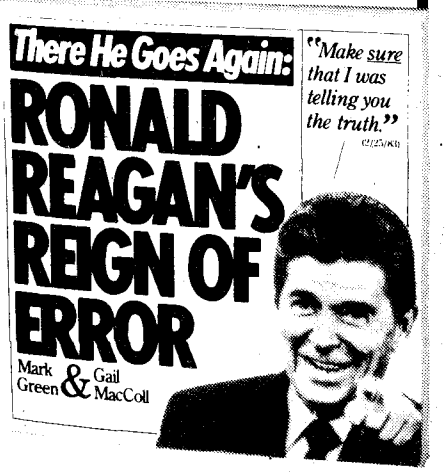

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with cool self-confidence but without a trace of arrogance. He likes his spiffy shoes, his money in the clip and his coffee in the cafe a lot more than he enjoys his bland, blond WASP girlfriend (Darryl Hannah) whose job as an aerobics instructor is just what Little Italy doesn't need. Eric Robert's Paulie is a more problematic character: hyperactive, emotionally infantile and almost unbearably twitchy, he does his strutting with a curious mixture of machismo and effeminacy that may be true to life but is confusing to watch. Still, he's onto a special style, and Robert DeNiro is not the only one allowed to display it.

One of the worst moments in the history of modern moviemaking occurred when cinema studies people decided Sergio Leone was a master of modern film art. Of course his Westerns had a certain farinaceous panache, but it was a bad idea to encourage him to delve outside his genre. The result, *Once Upon A Time In America*, is a dreadful botch of the American crime epic that wastes several world class talents, not to mention the unwary moviegoer's time and money.

In earnest but inadequate repayment for these efforts, the Ladd Company, which distributed the movie in this country, has kindly given us only 144 minutes of it, instead of the 227 minutes inflicted on Europe and the four hours which certain tortured souls at the Cannes Festival were sentenced to see. Some Leonine die-hards insist that the cutting rent a seamless fabric of social history into a pile of *schmattes* patterned with Lower East Side Jewish folklore. But it can't be true. The direction is so overwrought, the dialogue so preposterous, the design so vulgar and the sensibility so off-key that any more of it would be much worse than the snippets we get. In the Leone opera, nothing exceeds like excess.

It may be that distinctly American genres have to be explored by filmmakers who have lived in them, or at least tasted their flavors firsthand. Antonioni, who made some of the best movies ever, missed every point and manhandled every nuance of the American sixties in *Zabriskie Point*. Leone makes the same kind of mistakes and misstatements in this effort. He is fascinated by the images, the postures and the extravagance of the crime community, but he never relates it to the dynamic society of which it is a part. *The Godfather*, *Mean Streets* and *The Pope of Greenwich Village* project myths and moods that are found only in America; *Once Upon A Time* feels like it's set in Italy.

Offering rewards one can only guess at, Leone got Robert DeNiro, James Woods, Treat Williams, Elizabeth McGovern and Tuesday Weld to appear in his movie. They were supposed to portray Jewish gangsters and other ethnic friends, lovers, whores and hangers-on fussing and fighting their way through Prohibition and beyond. In due course, they act out the familiar conflicts of loyalty, tribalism and ambition which are the epic's hallmarks. To his credit, Woods does his job well. The rest seem embarrassed to be in front of the camera and look like they can't wait to pick up their checks.

Parody is an ever-popular formula for films, and it has many faces. *Once Upon A Time in America* is an unintentional, and for that reason uncontrolled, parody of the crime epic. *The Pope of Greenwich Village* is a gentle and good-natured *hommage* to *Mean Streets*, a parody stood on its head. *Top Secret* is an out-and-out spoof: of spy movies, World War II movies, cold war movies, Elvis Presley movies, beach party movies and movies in general. Nothing hangs together, and nothing is supposed to; some of the scenes work and some do not; a few of the performers are funny and others can't tell a joke. All in all, it's a parody in search of a subject.

They tell you in college lit. that successful parody must be derived from a work that has a certain power and integrity. Chevy Chase's takeoff on Jerry Ford was wonderful because Ford was invested with the weight of the Presidency; had Ford been only a Congressman from Michigan the skit would have had no meaning. *Airplane I*, the first effort of the *Top Secret* team (brothers David and Jerry Zucker and Jim Abrahams) was hilarious because it took off from the great schlock cycle of *Airport* movies, trash masterpieces of their time.

With few exceptions, however, none of the original *Top Secret* parodies are worth memorializing. *007* (Albert Broccoli's series, not the Korean jet) sent up spy movies for all time. *Hogan's Heroes* finished off Nazis (with Mel Brooks topping off Hitler's just deserts *mit schlag*). The *Saturday Night Live* crowd did the ultimate beach party goof ("My

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name is Annette," Gilda Radner cooed, "and these are my breasts"). There's still life in the Presley *oeuvre*, however, and *Top Secret*'s turns on the King's production numbers are the best thing about the movie. Those and a few one-liners: "This is Klaus," the gauleiter (Kurt Jurgens, playing himself) glowers, "he is moronic. He gets his information from the *New York Post*." It's too bad that the three directors couldn't get a star as droll and hammy as *Airplane*'s Robert Stack. Their current ingénue, Val Kilmer, does an O.K. Presley but can't keep time or deliver a line.

Ghostbusters, one of the summer's comedy blockbusters, is a movie of, by and for Yuppies, the year's demographic growth issue. Here we see several of the old *Saturday Night Live* crowd do their familiar numbers: Bill Murray is a sleazy girl-groper and Dan Ackroyd is a nerd about to metamorphose into a Babbitt. With sidekick Harold Ramis (who wrote the screenplay with Dan Ackroyd, helped write *Animal House* and directed *Caddyshack*) and the obligatory black second sidekick (Ernie Hudson), they race around New York City bottling up spectral essences in a contraption that looks like one of the black boxes sold on Canal Street to enable cheap urban professionals with restricted disposable income to capture HBO signals for nothing. The girl ghost, Sigourney Weaver, now lives dangerously on Central Park West and tries not to be mistaken for Jane Fonda.

The word on *E.T.* is that *Ghostbusters* is a 1980s version of an old Abbott and Costello movie, but I confess I didn't get it. A and C never took themselves seriously, and they never, ever, played inside jokes to a cult audience. M and A seem terribly impressed with their cleverness, their success and their command of a generational sensibility. So much so that they throw away whatever good lines they get, and work against the pacing and direction (by Ivan Reitman). That seems to sum up Big Chill comedy. Too bad it is about to take over the world. □

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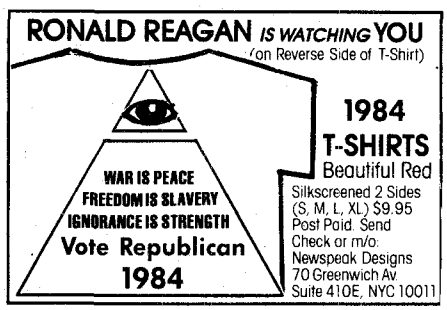

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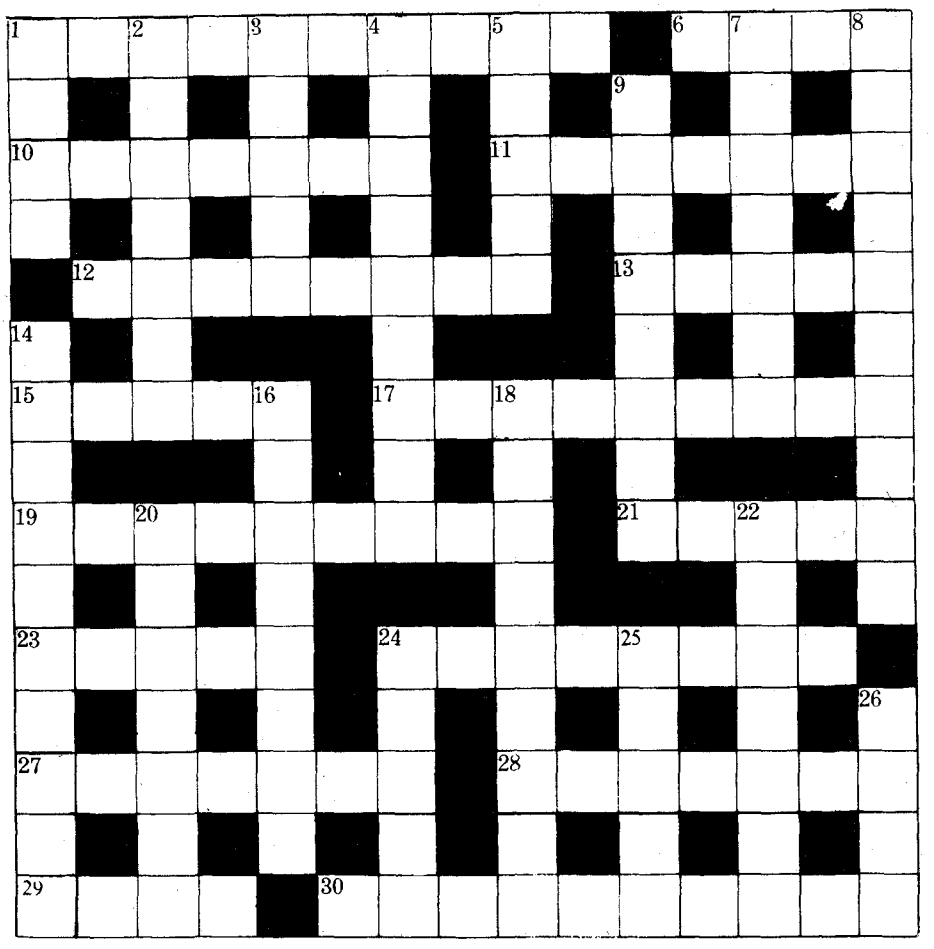
Crossword Puzzle No. 2017

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 How a rustler sizes things up? (5,5)
6 Certainly doesn't get on with a king of Mercia! (4)
10 A cordial place to visit. (7)
11 The way to make an explosion of TNT's due to this, one learns. (7)
12 These are usually far from tender, causing a word of disapproval in 5. (8)
13 And here, as Antony might say, it's moral! (5)
15 When they see such, people usually don't play. (5)
17 With Joseph, emeralds should be nonlasting, as you can see. (9)
19 Hearts, for example, wouldn't be worn openly by a captain! (5,4)
21 If your hand isn't strong enough, you might attack! (5)
23 Lent, perhaps, as a reminder of them. (5)
24 See 3 down. (8)
27 Fancy this! You'll find him in a CARE package. (7)
28 Where the mountain seems a little wetter? (7)
29 Animals to take advantage of, by the sound of it. (4)
30 A goal I don't exchange for a toothache. (10)

DOWN

1 Proving a friar could easily be taken in. (4)
2 Ore.? Kans.? Strange people! (7)
3 Were he and 24 across railroad victims? (5)
4 Could be out, as sure as outfit! (9)
5 They might hold things to be a serious illness. (5)
7 With a little more lip, perhaps, but more recently picked to be so. (7)
8 Far from speechless, it's clear! (10)
9 In shape no bigger than an agate stone, according to Mercutio. (5,3)
14 A campfire I made before investigation. (5,5)
16 *Ma had lit*, perhaps, in verse about the lamb. (8)
18 Though your position might be temporarily base, you could move on such a signal. (A good driver shouldn't!) (3-3-3)
20 Berg, in simplest terms—though one expects it in 5, when legal. (7)
22 Putting things in a rigid position—like the sun, at times. (7)
24 A half-dozen, and that's enough for dinner! (5)
25 She's always in the country, but not before noon. (5)
26 Showing up for a South Pacific boat? (4)

SEE LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION AT LEFT

CORRECTION

We regret the error in puzzle 2016. The clue for 22 and 9 down is: Does it catch applause? Nonsense! (4-4)

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